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GDR Favors Talks on Chemical Weapons Ban

LD072114 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin April 7 TASS—The Government of the German Democratic Republic is prepared, in keeping with a joint statement by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, to open talks with the Governments of Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany right away on eliminating and, consequently, preventing the deployment of chemical weapons in the three countries, a spokesman for the GDR Foreign Ministry said here today.

Wolfgang Meyer said Europe should be freed from chemical weapons as soon as possible. In the face of serious difficulties at the Geneva conference on disarmament and at talks on a global ban on chemical weapons the proposal for a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe and for early implementation of already agreed provisions of a treaty on the general prohibition of these weapons, which is being worked out at the Geneva conference, is of much significance to European security, he added.

In the opinion of the GDR, this proposal will make it possible through practical steps to solve issues remaining open on the way to the global convention's conclusion.

The spokesman noted efforts made by this country in the past towards a ban on this kind of weapons of mass destruction. The GDR, he said, will continue doing everything towards a general and complete ban on chemical weapons and supporting constructive steps towards this goal.

NATO 'Refuses' To Reduce Tactical Weapons

LD071026 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0545 GMT 7 Apr 88

["TASS Observer on Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe; Rid Europe of Tactical Nuclear Weapons!"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Apr (TASS)—TASS observer on military issues Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The recent session in Sofia of the Warsaw Pact countries' Committee of Foreign Ministers reaffirmed the socialist community's stand regarding the urgent need to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in conditions of an equilibrium in conventional weapons. This equilibrium should be ensured at a lower level than the present one, and one that excludes the possibility of offensive operations being waged.

The Warsaw Pact ministers, in their appeal to NATO states and all CSCE participant countries, propose that separate talks be started immediately concerning reducing tactical nuclear weapons, including nuclear components of dual-purpose weapons; that is, weapons systems that can use either nuclear or conventional ammunition.

Regrettably, the NATO countries have not yet officially responded to these initiatives. However, it was plainly indicated in the final document of the NATO top-level session held in March that the members of the North Atlantic bloc "will neither advance nor accept proposals which imply the undermining of the nuclear deterrent potential." In short, NATO refuses to even talk about a reduction, to say nothing of eliminating the tactical nuclear weapons of the two sides in the foreseeable future.

Ensuring the "unity" of the NATO members in Brussels required much more effort than before from the overt supporters of "strong-arm methods" in international relations. To begin with, FRG Chancellor Kohl spoke in favor of talks on tactical nuclear weapons, pointing out, in particular, that nuclear missiles with a range of under 500 km are primarily intended for use in Central Europe, including the FRG. Greece stated its special position on nuclear weapons. The concept of "nuclear terror ad infinitum" was not supported by Italy, which will tolerate the total elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe on certain conditions.

The fresh approaches to disarmament the Soviet Union is displaying at the moment have also had an effect on the course of NATO discussion about "compensation," that is, the proposed replacement of U.S. systems being eliminated under the INF treaty with other, more numerous and no less dangerous weapons of mass annihilation. Under pressure from world public opinion, the Atlanticists in Brussels "agreed to differ" about "compensation" or modernization of the U.S. tactical weapons remaining in Western Europe. The Paris LE MONDE saw the reason for this in the fact that it was not Thatcher, nor Reagan, nor Mitterrand and Chirac who were the main players at the Brussels session. "It was the CPSU Central Committee's general secretary and his new policy of disarmament that posed problems for the alliance," the paper indicated.

Of course, one should not underestimate the capability of the ultraright-wing Atlanticists to twist the arms of their more moderate NATO partners. Another thing is also clear: the new thinking in international relations is gradually destroying the old stereotypes in the capital of Western Europe, as well.

There is every reason to suppose that the issues of reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons can be resolved in the interests of the peoples of Europe.

Gerasimov Holds News Conference 7 Apr

Armitage Comment 'Deplorable'

LD071613 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 7 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, has described as "provocative and designed to complicate Soviet-Philippine relations" the statement by Richard Armitage, U.S. assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, to the effect that the USSR gives financial support for the "Communist Party of the Philippines Mao ideas" and its military organization "the New People's Army".

Addressing a briefing for Soviet and foreign newsmen here today, he stressed that such statements have been repeatedly refuted as groundless not only by Soviet, but also by Philippine officials. It is deplorable that in that case an irresponsible statement has been made by a high ranking member of the U.S. Administration. "Statements of this kind are incompatible with the generally recognized norms of correct, interstate relations, especially at a time when a serious and meaningful dialogue is developing between the Soviet Union and the USA on regional issues, including the situation in the Asia-Pacific region."

Afghan Problem Reviewed

LD071403 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 7 TASS—The forming of a coalition government in Afghanistan is a matter for the Afghans themselves to decide and is not connected in any way with the issue of the Soviet troop withdrawal from that country, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said national reconciliation is the only possible way to solve the Afghan problem.

"Otherwise, the civil war will continue also after the Soviet troop withdrawal. By contrast, if the national reconciliation policy succeeds, the issue of Soviet military aid to Afghanistan will vanish all by itself," he continued.

The spokesman added: "We are for an Afghan settlement in keeping with Geneva agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan. But if nothing comes out of (these talks), we shall have to agree on the return of Soviet troops from Afghanistan on a bilateral basis."

Vorontsov Visits Arms, Afghan Talks Delegations

LD080946 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Geneva, 8 Apr (TASS)—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, was in Geneva 7-8 April. He conferred with the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons. There were also meetings with the participants in the Afghan-Pakistani talks on a political settlement around Afghanistan, which are being completed in Geneva.

Yakovlev, Others View Human Rights Roundtable

LD080429 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 7 TASS—The problem of human rights is a street with two-way traffic. Therefore, the discussion of this topic calls for a frank dialogue rather than mutual instructions which, by the way, are not always of a truly professional nature, Professor Veniamin Yakovlev, director of the All-Union Research Institute of Soviet Law at the USSR Justice Ministry, said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today.

He and other Soviet scholars, present at the press center, who took part in the round-table debate involving Soviet and American experts on humanitarian issues, held recently in Washington, were unanimous that the dialogue on human rights should be shifted from the rails of political confrontation and tough course onto the rails of a professional study of the problems, the quest for possible ways to cooperation in solving them.

"The discussion of the issue of the correlation of international legal norms and domestic legislation in the field of human rights actually became the discussion of to what extent international human right standards and norms of the USSR and the U.S. Constitutions are guaranteed by the two countries' domestic legal mechanisms," Yakovlev furthermore said. Vast work is in progress in the Soviet Union to establish legal standards which would protect to a greater extent the citizens' individual rights.

Vasiliy Vlasikhin, head of the group engaged in the study of the United States' legal problems at the U.S. and Canada Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, emphasized that a tendency towards harsher penalties for criminal offences has shaped up in the United States lately. Specifically, the scholar said 28 U.S. states allow the death penalty to be meted out to minors. Not infrequently participants in anti-war actions in the United States are brought to court for criminal offences which are not politically-motivated.

For instance, the round-table in Washington assessed the case of an American woman who cut the barbed wire fence of a U.S. military base in protest against the militarist policy of the U.S. authorities and was sentenced to 18 years in prison on the charge of damaging

state property. The Soviet scholar holds that relying on the publications in the U.S. press one can reach a conclusion that there are about 11,000 political detainees in the United States.

Gennadiy Melekhin, head of the Department of Scientific-Medical Information of the All-Union Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry named after Serbskiy, holds that the problem of psychiatry should be solved at the professional medical level rather than at the political one. This will help society to deal with such an important social problem as mental illnesses. He emphasized that the Soviet side was ready to provide an opportunity to Western psychiatrists to examine individual patients who are committed to psychiatric institutions in the Soviet Union.

Responding to a question by a journalist, the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate said that the investigation of the case of Yuriy Churbanov was completed and he would soon appear in court.

Pastukhov Views Mediterranean Security
PM071053 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by political obse[illegible] Nikolay Pastukhov under the "Look at Events" rubric: "Calm for the Mediterranean"]

[Text] The legendary Mediterranean Sea has since time immemorial won itself glory in literature and art as the cradle of European civilization. International and tourist routes pass through its waters. I have visited nearly all the countries whose shores are washed by the Mediterranean—Italy, France, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Greece, and Cyprus, the island of Aphrodite—and admired their coastlines. I have always been struck by the Mediterranean's grandeur, picturesque, gentle nature, ancient monuments, and turquoise waves. All this brought the peoples closer, mutually enriched them, and gave rise to an atmosphere of calm and the desire for architectural and literary creation appeared among the talented people.

But other times have come. The Mediterranean has now become one of the most explosive regions of our world. Cyprus, half of whose territory is occupied by NATO, is being drowned in blood. Disputes between Greece and Turkey over the shelf are not ceasing. Contradictions between Athens and Washington are being aggravated because of the U.S. military bases on Greek territory. Literally the other day there was an instance of gross U.S. interference in Greek affairs. R. Keeley, U.S. ambassador in Athens, set about publicly telling the Greek Government what to do, urging it to strengthen its ties with NATO. The dispute between Spain and Britain over Gibraltar is continuing. A whole armada of U.S. warships has been sent to the Persian Gulf from the Mediterranean. Concentrated in the Mediterranean are U.S. naval forces which occasionally open fire from large-caliber artillery against one of the coastlines, for instance against Libya, or undertake Marine sorties in Lebanon. In the Mediterranean, the Pentagon has 11 naval and air force bases, 3 large intelligence centers, and 4 missile bases whose military might is targeted on North Africa, the Near East, and our country.

"For us," Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, addressing the SFRY Federal Assembly during his visit to Yugoslavia, "the Mediterranean basin is not a foreign, remote region. It is close to our southern border, and the only maritime route linking our southern ports with the world's oceans lies through it. Naturally, we are interested in routes of peace, not war paths, passing through here."

The Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted on the results of the recent visit notes that the positive processes appearing in Europe should be extended to the Mediterranean region, whose security is closely linked with security in Europe, so that it can become a zone of peace and cooperation.

It should be noted that the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration reflects the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the all-European conference in Helsinki. The position of the United Nations, which at recent General Assembly sessions has invariably focused the world community's attention around the problem of the Mediterranean, looks similar. The memory is still fresh of how in 1986 at the initiative of Malta, Libya, Algeria, Yugoslavia, Romania, and a number of other countries, a UN resolution was adopted noting the extreme urgency of resolving the crises existing in this region and pointing to the need for the withdrawal of foreign fleets from the Mediterranean and the departure of occupation forces from foreign territories.

As for Moscow, it has always adopted a clear and principled position on problems around the Mediterranean and has frequently denounced the United States' hegemonistic approaches to the countries of this region and demanded an end to military confrontation. This approach was dictated exclusively by just one desire—to eliminate threats of war. About 15 years ago, the USSR suggested to the United States that they reach agreement on the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of U.S. and Soviet ships, including submarine fleets, equipped with nuclear weapons. As is well known, the United States responded negatively to this proposal. But in the early eighties, the Soviet Union again submitted a whole package of proposals for consolidating Mediterranean security, proposals which were unanimously supported by the Warsaw Pact states.

What is their thrust? The elaboration of international agreements which would provide for the extension of confidence-building measures in the military field to the Mediterranean region; coordinated reduction of armed forces in this region; withdrawal of ships carrying nuclear weapons; renunciation of the placement of

nuclear weapons on the territory of nonnuclear Mediterranean countries; and the nuclear powers' adoption of commitments not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country which forbids the placement of such weapons on its own territory. Again there was no response from Washington.

Then, on 26 March 1986, the USSR submitted a very important proposal: to withdraw the U.S. and USSR military fleets from the Mediterranean. As the Soviet foreign minister explained in a special letter to the UN secretary general, there is in principle no need for our country to have its naval forces permanently based in the Mediterranean. The USSR is obliged to keep ships there only because the U.S. 6th Fleet equipped with nuclear weapons is in the immediate vicinity of our borders.

The danger of this fleet can be graphically seen from a quite recent incident in the Black Sea off Crimean shores. The U.S. ships "Yorktown" and "Caron," which are part of the 6th Fleet, violated the Soviet sea border. An incident was averted thanks to prompt measures by the Soviet Navy. But what did the violating U.S. ships have in mind? As U.S. Rear Admiral Eugene Carrol (retired) admitted, not only the seamen's safety but also the fate of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles depended on the outcome of the clash. It is perfectly obvious which Pentagon men sanctioned the violation of the USSR's territorial waters. They are also the opponents of the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. But the act of provocation was thwarted.

This incident also convincingly attests to the need to adopt specific and resolute measures to make the Mediterranean a zone of peace and security. That is why the Soviet Union has also come out with the idea of holding a broad conference, similar to the all-European conference, with the participation of all states of the region and those adjacent to it and also of the United States and other interested countries. Such a conference could elaborate recommendations for the creation of an atmosphere of peace in the Mediterranean. It is also essential to note that Moscow has supported all regional conferences held in Malta and Brioni Island and is in favor of creating in the Mediterranean and the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons. Moscow also is in favor of Cyprus' struggle against the country's division and the Greek people's struggle for the abolition of U.S. bases on their territory.

While in Yugoslavia, M.S. Gorbachev again drew attention to the situation in the Mediterranean and submitted new peace initiatives for its normalization: Confirming its readiness for the withdrawal of the USSR and U.S. military fleets from the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union suggested that this should not be put off indefinitely. As a first step, the numerical strength of ships and the potential of the two countries' naval forces here should be frozen as of 1 July this year, and limits to them should be subsequently set. It is also proposed that the Soviet Union and the United States should notify each other and all Mediterranean countries in good time of the movement of warships and of military exercises and should invite observers to them. The statement stressed that the elaboration by the Mediterranean and other interested countries of principles and methods of ensuring the safety of intensive shipping routes would meet with every support from our side.

What is the difference between the NATO and Soviet approaches toward the Mediterranean? The former, expressing itself in the spirit of the old thinking, calls the Mediterranean "the south European theater of military operations." For our country it is a path to peace, mutual understanding, and cooperation between the peoples of the region and the entire world community.

That is why the Soviet Union's new peace initiatives have been welcomed with satisfaction in the majority of Mediterranean countries. They were warmly welcomed by political and public figures in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Cyprus, France, Italy, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Spain. People on different continents have interpreted them as one more convincing testimony to the Soviet Union's deep and consistent interest in the normalization of the international situation and as a specific manifestation of the new political thinking in action.

United States & Canada

VOA Accused of 'Half-Truths', 'Anti-Sovietism'

Wick Comments Criticized

LD071201 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] The 15th issue of the MOSCOW NEWS weekly, which has just been published, carries a section under the general heading "USSR-United States of America: Time To Choose Expressions." The selection includes a brief report on a dialogue between the newspaper and the United States' Information Agency, USIA, on the contents of radio broadcasts by the Voice of America; a letter from USIA Director Charles Wick, sent to the editorial office; and also an editorial commentary on it.

In his letter, Mr Wick appeals to the news services of both countries for more objective and well-argued coverage of events. Together with this he categorically rejects all reproaches addressed to the Voice of America, which his department [word indistinct] about unfriendly—to put it mildly—utterances on the subject of events in the USSR, and putting it more accurately, about anti-Sovietism. The newspaper's editorial commentary contains a considered reply to this letter. Those of our listeners who have familiarized themselves with the aforementioned selection will, in my view, not be uninterested in yet another aspect of the discussion. Over to commentator Igor Charikov:

[Charikov] My colleagues and I in the international news department consider ourselves to be involved in the subject of this dialogue, which took place and which, to all appearances, will be continued on the pages of MOSCOW NEWS. Virtually every day we cover the news and comment on events abroad, including those in the United States. We do this, I can assure you, with a lofty feeling of responsibility, using verified information, and relying on our experience of geographical regions. Of course, there are times when we are rebuked for certain (?simplification) in covering one or another events or facts and for a uniformity of opinions. We accept these observations.

And now about the letter from the USIA director, rejecting the reproach leveled at Voice of America for anti-Sovietism: Mr Wick and his colleagues working at Voice of America probably have their own understanding of the term anti-Sovietism. About 2 months ago, we had as our guest Mr Von Doemming, director of Voice of America radio broadcasts to the Soviet Union. He showed an interest in restructuring in our broadcasting and other questions of a professional nature. My colleagues and I had a lengthy conversation with Mr Von Doemming. We proposed that he speak in one of our broadcasts and give an appraisal of restructuring and other social and economic transformations which are taking place in our country. Our guest agreed, and the recording was made and subsequently reproduced on All-Union Radio without a single cut. Apart from that, we invited him, after a trip around the Soviet Union, to visit our editorial office again and to share his impressions. Mr Von Doemming didn't come, but we reckoned that he was simply busy.

We remembered the assurances made by the leader of broadcasts to the Soviet Union to the effect that their main aim is objective coverage of events in the world and in the Soviet Union. But what do we see in reality—or, rather, hear? Daily repeated fabrications about events in our country, be it in the Baltic republics or in Nagorno-Karabakh. Moreover, the so-called news and commentaries on it are based on very dubious sources of information, the authenticity of which simply does not inspire faith. These sources were debunked in our press. It is such treatment—quote marks—of information, used for stoking national differences in the Soviet Union, for undermining the foundations of Soviet power, and for weakening the positions of the socialist system which is considered by us to be the most complete and utter anti-Sovietism. If these words do not serve as proof for Mr Wick or for Mr Von Doemming, then we really are speaking in different languages. My colleagues and I entirely share the conclusions in the selection published in the MOSCOW NEWS. Yes, it is time for dialogue, and there are sufficient possibilities for testing the sincerity of both sides.

'Half-Truths' on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD080627 Moscow TASS in English 0610 8 Apr 88

["What Kind of Truth the VOA Is Interested In"—TASS headline]

[Text] Baku April 8 TASS—TASS correspondent Rauf Bakhtiyarov and Saveli Perets write:

Staff members of the Voice of America (VOA) radio station, at a meeting with their Soviet counterparts, in Baku at the beginning of the current year, kept saying with emotion that broadcasts should convey only the truth and give facts without commentaries to enable the listeners to draw their own conclusions.

The guests, among whom were Gerd von Doemming, chief, USSR Division, and Jolyon A. Nagale, chief of the VOA's Vienna bureau, spoke with pride about the main principle of their radio station: 'To tell only the truth'. But on the very first days of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, the VOA departed from its 'main principle'. The truth, half-truths, and inventions intermingled on the air waves and were proportioned depending on the area at which a broadcast was beamed, and the nationality it was intended for.

In February, following the first reports from Nagorno-Karabakh, the VOA hurried to declare that troops were brought to the capital of that autonomous region. On the same day we inquired competent sources by telephone and we were officially told that there were no troops in Stepanakert.

In an Azerbaijanian-language broadcast, VOA journalists reported that 32 people died during clashes in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait. An Armenian-language broadcast on March 19 asserted that a number of victims was about 500—there were quite a number of such "discrepancies". It has become clear that there are two "truths" at the American radio station: one for the Armenians and the other one for the Azerbaijanians.

It was not by chance that on March 10, for example, the VOA asserted in an Azerbaijanian-language broadcast that "if the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region (NKAR) is handed over to Armenia, the geographical, political and economic unity of the region would be fully disrupted". VOA broadcasts beamed at Armenia the following day reported that "Armenians abroad render support to their brothers in their just demands for incorporation of the NKAR into Armenia".

The public of Azerbaijan and Armenia also paid attenion to the fact that when broadcasting at Soviet republic, the VOA referred, as often happens in similar cases, to people with a criminal record. Among them was Paruir Airikyan, against whom criminal proceedings had been instituted for anti-Soviet activity and bribing, and who are introduced in the broadcast as the chairman of an 'Armenian Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners' and an 'Association for National Self-Determination'.

In its broadcast beamed Azerbaijan on March 7 the VOA described as "utopia" friendship between the Moslems and the rest of the population of the Soviet Union. This assertion from across the ocean gave rise to legitimate indignation of Shaykh ul Islam Allah Shukar Pasha-Zade [name as received], chairman of the Moslem Board of Transcaucasia.

"Friendship and close cooperation between the Christians and Moslems", he stated in an interview with a TASS correspondent, "between Azerbaijanians and the members of other ethnic groups inhabiting our territory are a reality, not fiction. It is anti-humane to bring hostility and the sense of discord between people of various nationalities and religions as VOA journalists try to do. My life experience and facts which I have in my possession indicate that the latest developments around Nagorno-Karabakh are a sad exception".

USIA 'Disinformation' Briefing

LD071928 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 7 TASS—BY TASS commentator Vladimir Matyash:

Another U.S. Information Agency briefing on "Soviet disinformation" has been held with much publicity in Washington. Judging by the Voice of America and wire service reports, its aim was to introduce foreign correspondents to a hefty volume with the intriguing name "Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost".

Glasnost (openness), democratization and perestroyka (restructuring) are indeed the hallmarks of life in the Soviet Union today. And there are, no doubt, different views in the West on perestroyka. But what are the objectives of that "study" issued just as the international situation and the Soviet-U.S. relationships have begun to show signs of warming up?

The method used at the Washington briefing was a familiar one. International organizations the nature of whose activities is believed by Washington to be anti-American were habitually branded "pro-Soviet groups", Soviet newspapers, magazines, radio and television were rated, with a straight face, among "disinformation channels" and a whole number of exposes published in the world press dismissed as "falsehoods".

The authors of the report obviously didn't like such trustworthy reports as the stories on U.S. military advisers' involvement in the undeclared war against Afghanistan, the terrorist past of Armando Valladares appointed to lead the U.S. delegation to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the Pentagon's preparations for bacteriological warfare, and the involvement of the C.I.A. and the Pentagon in last year's military coup on Fiji.

The books "The Death of Jonestown" and "The Army of Night", which speak of C.I.A. covert actions, were also "blacklisted".

Let's put the record straight. The U.S.I.A. "study" ascribed to Moscow reports about C.I.A. involvement in the mass suicide of a sect in Jonestown. None of the stories by Soviet journalists on the subject, however, has been invented by them: each gives precise references to its sources.

Charges against the C.I.A. in that case have been made, for example, by Mr Holsinger, an aide to killed Congressman Leo Ryan, American lawyer Mark Lane and in a lawsuit filed in October 1981 with the Federal Court of San Francisco by a group of relatives of some of the dead members of the sect.

If, for instance, TASS helped spread such versions, it didn't go any further in that respect than any other world news agency.

Other sections of the U.S.I.A. "study", which has been obviously prepared on prompting from the State Department, the Pentagon and the C.I.A., are striking examples of vicious disinformation about Soviet actions as well.

Diverse as the charges of disinformation against the USSR are, they all have at least two common features: they are groundless and have the same aim of helping cultivate the "enemy image" in Americans' eyes.

The U.S.I.A. "study" lashed out at the book "The C.I.A.: U.S. State Terrorism". It would be appropriate to recall here how the U.S. press in its time maintained a clamorous campaign over an "international Soviet terrorist ring". It is well known that Claire Sterling's book "Terrorism: The Soviet Connection" which served as the main source of "information" about "Soviet terrorism" has been written in cooperation with the C.I.A.

The same C.I.A. puppet played a big role in publicizing a non-existent "Bulgarian connection" in the assassination attempt on the pope. The "connection" was, of course, with the KGB.

The Soviet press, radio and television have never resorted to similar disinformation about America. One would like to say the following in this connection: The efforts of just one side are clearly not enough for creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

If both sides do not get down together to fostering an atmosphere of good will and do not take a new look at the cardinally changed world facing the problem of humanity's survival, it will be extremely difficult to alter the situation.

And an example of an objective, well-wishing attitude to other nations and other states should be set by the mass media of all countries.

Pentagon Responsible for Environmental Pollution

LD071348 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] New York April 7 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Mostovets reports:

The Pentagon is one of the main culprits of environmental pollution in the United States. For decades poisonous chemical production wastes from military bases and plants, which fill orders placed by the Department of Defence, have been uncontrolledly buried or dumped into water reservoirs, inflicting an irretrievable damage to the natural environmental and to people's health. This conclusion has been drawn by the authors of the "Poison and the Pentagon" reportage broadcast by the PBS TV Network.

Their data have it that about 37,000 dumps of poisonous wastes are located around numerous military bases in U.S. territory. The entire south-western area of Jacksonville (Florida) has been actually turned into such dump. Over there, soil and water are polluted because of the presence of two nearby naval bases. Since 1983 local residents have had to use water brought from other places because twenty chemical substances hazardous to human health were discovered in local sources of drinking water. Seven of the substances are carcinogenic. Many families have abandoned their homes and left the city.

The area around the munitions plant Milan Arsenal, 130 km away from Memphis, Tennessee, is yet another place listed as most dangerous for habitation. Production wastes from the plant are dumped into eight man-made lakes and from there, filtering through soil, they get into subterranean sources of drinking water. According to the authors of the reportage, the Pentagon has known about that since the middle of the 1970s but, for fear of scandal, concealed the cause of the diseases and frequent ailments from the factory workers and local residents.

The Pentagon declines to assume responsibility for the tragic consequences of the poisoning of drinking water in Tucson, Arizona, where a plant of the Hughes Aircraft Corporation, which fills orders placed by the Air Force, is located. Over there, drinking water is obtained only from subterranean sources because the town is located in the desert. However, it turned out recently that the content of hazardous chemical substances in the local drinking water is 40 times as high as the permissible dose, and is 10,000 as high in direct proximity to the plant. People there die mainly of blood cancer or brain tumour. There are many children among those ill.

In 1983, under the pressure of the public, the Pentagon nevertheless sent its representative, Lieutenant Colonel Grant Hard, to Tucson to 'study the problem'. But he only promised to make the Hughes Aircraft tackle the purification of the poisonous dumps of production wastes. A couple of years later Mr Hard resigned and got a position on the board of directors of the Hughes Aircraft.

At present, by the amount of poisonous production wastes the Pentagon is ahead of five leading chemical corporations of the United States. According to the estimates made by the Pentagon's itself, it will take not less than 15,000 million dollars to decontaminate the residential areas. However, the Department of Defence is not in a hurry to spend money on the protection of American people's health.

China

Reportage on Latest NPC Developments

Yang Shangkun Elected President

LD080748 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 8 TASS—Yang Shangkun was elected president of the Chinese People's Republic at the first session of the Seventh National People's Congress here today.

Yang Shangkun, 81, has been in the Communist Party of China since 1926 and active in the Chinese student and workers' movements since 1925. Studied in Moscow. Senior party and military official during the national-liberation war of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggression and after the founding of China. [as received] During the Cultural Revolution he was persecuted. At the 12th congress Yang Shangkun became member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and permanent deputy vice chairman of the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee. He held these posts also after the 13th party congress.

Wang Zhen Elected Vice President

LD080752 Moscow TASS in English 0723 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 8 TASS—Wang Zhen was elected vice president of the People's Republic of China here today at the current first session of the Seventh National People's Congress.

Wang Zhen is 80 years old. He is a member of the Communist Party of China since 1927. An active participant in revolutionary struggle and socialist construction has held a number of leading party and military positions. [sentence as received]

Wan Li Elected Committee Chairman

LD080634 Moscow TASS in English 0615 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 8 TASS—At the current first session of the Seventh National People's Congress (NPC) here today, Wan Li Was elected the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee.

Wan Li was born in 1915. He joined in revolutionary work in 1936. He received a pedagogical education. Following the founding of the People's Republic of China he held leading party, administrative, and economic positions.

At the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) he was elected to the CPC Central Committee, and at the 12th Congress of the CPC he was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and a member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.

Soviet Trade Up 80 Percent

LD080358 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 7 TASS—TASS correspondent Georgiy Arslanov reports:

China will develop trade with the Soviet Union at a rapid pace, Zheng Tuobin, minister of foreign economic relations and foreign trade of the People's Republic of China (PRC), has stated here.

He spoke before the Heilongjiang Province deputies to the current session of the National People's Congress (NPC) who were discussing matters aimed at giving greater scope to trade-and-economic contacts with the USSR.

Border trade between Heilongjian Province (north-eastern China) and Xinjiang-Uygur autonomous district (western China) and the areas of the Soviet Far East, central Asian republics, and Kazakhstan has considerably gained in scope in recent years. The ministry's spokesman stated in an interview with the CHINA DAILY that border trade between the PRC and the Soviet Union had grown by 80 percent in 1987 alone.

According to Hou Jie, a deputy to the NPC, chairman of the People's Government of Heilongjiang, the province's goods turnover in trade with the USSR ran at 42.2 million Swiss francs last year alone, which was 3.6 times as great as in 1983 when Soviet-Chinese border trade had been resumed after a long interval.

The expansion of border trade is being promoted by the granting of the right to Heilongjiang, the Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang Uygur autonomous districts to establish trade-and-economic contacts with the Soviet Union, Mongolia, the DPRK, and socialist countries of Europe independently in accordance with their own economic development plans.

The forms of contacts are diverse: barter and compensation trade, joint ventures, co-production on a contract basis, and the export of labour force.

Zheng Tuobin pointed out that any of the new forms of economic cooperation might be used for the development of the country's foreign trade.

Talks on Aerial Photographic Survey End

LD080832 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 8 TASS—In keeping with the agreement of the sides, the Soviet-Chinese joint working group on aerial photographic survey held its second meeting between March 31 and April 8, at the talks of the Soviet-Chinese Government delegations on border issues in Beijing.

The meeting focused on practical issues involved in organising joint aerial photography in the eastern part of the Soviet-Chinese border. Relevant documents were signed.

The meeting passed in a constructive and goodwill atmosphere.

The working group was received by Qian Qichen, Chinese deputy foreign minister and head of the government delegation at the Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues.

USSR, PRC 'Similar' Views on Nuclear Issue

OW070731 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Mulatov commentary: "Moscow's and Beijing's Viewpoint on an Issue"—from the "Forum on International Issues" program]

[Text] People in the USSR and the world have learned with satisfaction how Comrade Li Peng, in his report to the Chinese NPC, reiterated that China has committed itself never to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances. Now listen to a commentary by station observer Mulatov, entitled: Moscow's and Beijing's Viewpoint on an Issue.

If the five nuclear powers pledged to each other as well as to other countries of the world that they would never be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances, then the issue of preventing nuclear threat would not be as acute as it is now. However, only the USSR and China have restrained themselves by making this pledge. They believe that any strategic scheme based on the possible use of nuclear weapons is immoral and impermissible.

On the other hand, under the strategic concept of the United States and NATO—a concept based on confronting nuclear threat with a nuclear deterrent—the United States and its allies may use nuclear weapons under certain special circumstances. This is something people the world over deeply worry about.

It should be pointed out that, on a series of major issues of principle, the Soviet Union and China hold views that are diametrically different from those of nuclear countries in the West. One of these issues concerns the establishment of nuclear-free zones. The Rarotonga Treaty—a treaty for establishing a nuclear-free South Pacific state—receives support only from the USSR and China. The United States has stated that it will not sign the treaty lest it contradicts its interest in using the nuclear deterrent. Neither Britain or France support this treaty. Furthermore, only the USSR and China support the ASEAN proposal for turning Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone, as well as the proposal put forward by the DPRK for turning the entire Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. It is the United States that has boycotted the implementation of these timely proposals put foward by Asian countries.

In addition, the United States and South Korea have made it a practice to carry out a military exercise—"Team Spirit"—every year. During this annual event, U.S. naval and air forces invariably practice special warfare and the mock use of nuclear weapons. We can see that the viewpoint on this issue is totally different between the USSR and China on the one hand, and the United States and other nuclear countries of the West on the other.

Comrade Li Peng stressed in his report to the NPC that China will continue to carry out untiring struggle, together with all peace-loving countries, for the total banning and complete destruction of nuclear weapons. It is satisfying to know that Moscow and Beijing share very similar views on their policy on this issue.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Diplomatic Delegation in USSR

PM081021 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 30 March USSR Deputy Foreign Minister B.N. Chaplin received a delegation of the DPRK Main Administration for the Diplomatic Corps headed by Khan Bon Gu [name as published], which is visiting the Soviet Union at the USSR Foreign Ministry's invitation.

Provincial-Level USSR-DPRK Cooperation Viewed

SK290918 Moscow International Service in Korean 0930 GMT 24 Mar 88

[From feature program on Primorskiy Kray]

[Excerpts] Recently a delegation from North Hamgyong Province led by Comrade (Pak Su-son), deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the North Hamgyong Provincial WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Committee, visited Vladivostok. At that time, an agreement was signed for cooperation between Primorskiy Kray and North Hamgyong Province for 1988. [passage omitted]

Specialists from the Tonghae Fisheries Research Institute in Wonsan visited Vladivostok last June to conduct research work according to the Soviet-Korean Treaty of Mutual Scientific Cooperation. With regard to this, Comrade (Han Chong-sam), functionary of the Fisheries Committee of People's Korea, said:

[Begin recording] This time, our delegation has come to Vladivostok to learn how to (?utilize) the resources of Alaska pollack fish, which is one of the areas of scientific and technological cooperation in the fisheries field between the Soviet Union and our country. As is known, friendly and cooperative relations between the peoples of Korea and the Soviet Union have a long tradition. This is clearly displayed in the fisheries field. The agreement for cooperation between our Korea and the Soviet Union in the field of fisheries has a long history. Technological cooperation between our country's Tonghae Fisheries Research Institute and the Soviet scientific research institutes has long continued in the scientific and technological field of fisheries in particular. A scientific and technological cooperation plan, which is annually adopted as an important agenda at the meeting of the Korean-Soviet Joint Fisheries Committee, is developing daily. [end recording]

In order to successfully develop the economy, international collaboration is of great significance for all countries. Active socialist cooperation, relations between production workers, and a common socialist market are the basic ways of cooperation and development among the socialist countries. Proceeding from this important precondition, the work carried out in Primorskiy by the delegation of North Hamgyong Province was for the purpose of making our contact reach a most successful stage. To this end, there are many preconditions.

Some time ago, a work team of the Soviet-Korean Far East Economic Cooperation Committee grasped various specifics on the cooperation among enterprises while working in Amurskaya Oblast, Khabarrovskiy Kray, and Primorskiy Kray. Taking this into consideration, it is planned to make a change in the joint work between Primorskiy and North Hamgyong Province.

Visiting a series of organizations, the Korean delegation reviewed the specifics of the 1988 plan and the possible areas of future cooperation. [passage omitted]

U.S., Japanese 'Collusion' in ROK Viewed

OW041321 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1900 GMT 27 Mar 88

[Shakhov commentary]

[Text] As earlier reported, Japanese Foreign Minister Uno said in his speech before the Japanese House of Councillors that from the Japanese Government's point of view the removal of U.S. military bases from South Korea does not accord with the people's wishes. In this connection, our station commentator Shakhov writes:

The statement proves again that Japan intends, as it always has, to support the U.S. military presence in South Korea. As everybody knows, this is incompatible with the wishes of the vast numbers of South Korean people who have asked for the removal of U.S. troops and weapons. Participants in rallies in many South Korean cities have pointed this out. They protest the U.S.-South Korean military exercises and oppose the escalation of tension in South Korea.

We should not forget that the United States has deployed nearly 1,000 nuclear warheads in South Korea, which very likely may lead to very serious consequences. The DPRK has put forward a proposal aimed at eradicating this tense situation permanently and completely. For example, it proposed to make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone. However, Washington rejected the proposal because it demanded the removal of troops and weapons from South Korea.

We have seen a collusion between Washington and Tokyo. Such a collusion is by no means accidental. The two nations' ruling parties have coordinated their actions in handling important issues in the Asia-Pacific region. Keeping U.S. nuclear guided missiles in South Korea is an essential condition for establishing the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military bloc.

Recent events have indicated the advance of militarization in the Asia-Pacific region. The United States not only opposes the withdrawal of its troops from South Korea, but has also consolidated its military presence in Japan and tried in all possible ways to keep its military bases in the Philippines. It is not only against making the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone, but also against making the area including the South Pacific Ocean and Southeast Asia nuclear-free.

Military conflicts in the area have further aggravated the already tense situation. The United States is still engaged in its undeclared war against the Afghan and Cambodian people. The Iran-Iraq war is still going on. Israel is continuing in its aggression in the Middle East.

Under such a circumstances, it is especially necessary to handle regional issues in a constructive manner by eradicating militarism and taking disarmament measures.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage on Rogachev Visit to Malaysia

Arrival Statement

BK061643 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 1557 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, April 6 (BERNAMA)—Moscow has no intention to increase its military involvement in the ASEAN and Asia-Pacific regions, Soviet Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Igor Rogachev said Wednesday.

The Soviet Union, however, hoped to enhance its relationship with the ASEAN countries in the areas of trade, economy, culture and sports, he told reporters on arrival at the Kuala Lumpur International Airport here.

The Soviet Union had, in fact, widened its scope of relationship with these countries in response to a call by its leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, in July 1986 to promote peace, stability and prosperity in these regions, he added.

Rogachev, who is on a 4-day visit to Malaysia, was accompanied by his ministry's director of the Southeast Asian Department, A.S. Zaytsev, and the special assistant to deputy foreign minister, R.Z. Aliautdinnor.

The Soviet delegation was greeted on arrival by Deputy Foreign Minister Toh Muda Dr Fadzil Che Wan. Also present was the Soviet Ambassador to Malaysia F.I. Potapenko.

Rogachev is here as part of his official visit to Southeast Asian countries. He has already visited Kampuchea, Vietnam, Laos, the Philippines and Singapore.

He is scheduled to call on Foreign Minister Abu Hassan Omar Thursday to discuss various issues, including trade.

He will leave for Indonesia on Sunday to attend the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP) meeting. After Indonesia he will proceed to Thailand.

Views Ties With Japan

BK070752 Hong Kong AFP in English 0727 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, April 7 (AFP)—A senior Soviet official Thursday deplored the state of Soviet-Japanese ties but said Tokyo must drop preconditions for better relations. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said Moscow had sent several proposals to Tokyo for better ties. "But we get simple-minded answers because the northern territories remain a Japanese preoccupation," he said.

Diplomats said Mr. Rogachev was referring to Tokyo's demand that Moscow return to Japan four groups of islands seized at the end of World War II. Tokyo wants the Shikotan, Kunashiri, Etorofu and Habomai Islands returned before full normalisation of ties, the diplomats said.

Mr. Rogachev, here on a four-day visit that is part of a Southeast Asian tour, was speaking on Soviet policy in East Asia and the Pacific at the Malaysian Institute for Strategic and International Studies. He visited Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, the Philippines and Singapore before coming here and will leave for Jakarta on Sunday.

Mr. Rogachev said he held talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno in September and had scheduled another meeting for next month. "We hope the dialogue will continue without preconditions," he said.

Mr. Rogachev said there had been some narrowing of differences between the Soviet Union and the United States and China on how to resolve the Cambodia issue, although differences remained. The United States and China had agreed with Moscow that Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge leader blamed for genocide, should not return to power, he said. "But we still do not see a reciprocal approach from the Khmer Rouge side," Mr. Rogachev added.

Holds Consultations

LD072357 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Kula Lumpur April 7 TASS— Bilateral political consultations to involve Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and Abdulla Fadzil Che Wan, deputy foreign minister of Malaysia, were held here today. The Soviet representative also conferred with Malaysian Foreign Minister Abu Hassan Omar.

Both sides declared for deepening the political dialogue to which a fresh impetus was given by the official visit of Malaysia Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed to the USSR in 1987 and his meeting with the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. Mutual desire was confirmed for boosting trade and economic relations, cultural, sporting and scientific exchanges.

The Malaysian side showed lively interest in the information on progress in the Soviet-U.S. talks on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments and expressed the hope that the earliest signing of the new treaty between the USSR and the United States would have a salutary impact on the situation in Asia and the Pacific.

The consultations have reaffirmed that the USSR and Malaysia held identical or close stands on the all-important problems of preserving and consolidating peace, bridling the arms race, enhancing global security and removing the threat of a nuclear war. The side expressed the common view that there existed auspicious opportunities for further developing interaction between the two countries on the international scene.

They put special emphasis on the consideration of possible ways to unblock the conflict situations in Asia: around Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Iran-Iraq war. They firmly believe that solution to them can only be achieved by peaceful political means through the development of a constructive dialogue to involve all parties concerned.

USSR Supports SRV Proposal for Spratlys Talks

OW071555 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] At a press briefing in Moscow on 17 March, Deputy Chief of the Information Administration of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Perfilyev said: Over the past few days, reports have poured in with regard to the intensifying situation around some South China Sea Islands, first of all the Nansha [Spratly] Islands. We have learned that the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, in a note to the Chinese Foreign Ministry on 17 March, has expressed Vietnam's wish to negotiate with China on the border issue, discussing matters on dispatching representatives and deciding the level of delegations and the time and place for holding negotiations. The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry has also proposed that both sides refrain from the use of force before holding negotiations. The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman asserted: We support Vietnam's proposal, which reflects Hanoi's goodwill and intention to settle existing problems through peaceful means. Perfilyev stated: We hold that it is necessary to (?exercise restraint) when handling complicated problems between states and to refrain from taking action that would aggravate the situation in Southeast Asia.

Near East & South Asia

Agreement Reached at Afghan-Pakistani Talks

Gorbachev on Settlement

LD071828 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Tashkent April 7 TASS—An atmosphere of popular confidence in the correctness of the course charted by the party was characteristic of meetings which Mikhail Gorbachev began today with working people in Uzbekistan.

Those meetings also revealed the people's increasingly strong feeling of responsibility for the revolutionary renewal drive, for the future of their country and for the fate of socialism.

The general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee went to collective farms for those meetings right after Soviet-Afghan negotiations.

He told working people about those talks with the Afghan president several hours before. "The process of a political settlement in Afghanistan is drawing to a close," Gorbachev said, expressing the conviction that a political settlement agreement would be signed.

"I think Pakistan and Afghanistan will come to terms all right. And the Americans and we, I think, will come to terms as the guarantors as well. A big accomplishment this will be and it is time to end the conflict. It has dragged on for too long. The country needs peace.

"This is why during our today's conversation we discussed the latest issues, the knots that remain to be untied. The talks were very important, very practical," Gorbachev said.

Much attention in the course of his meetings with working people in Uzbekistan was paid to the progress of perestroyka (restructuring) efforts to update every aspect of life in the Soviet Union. The working people expressed unamimous support for the party's policy of renewal and shared with the general secretary their plans and concerns.

At one meeting he spoke of Uzbekistan's problems, saying all Soviet people together with the population of this Central Asian republic were concerned about the troubles that had befallen to Uzbekistan's lot in different periods.

"The Uzbek people are a people with an ancient culture, a people who have experienced much suffering, done much for this land, settled it and turned it into a modern country," Gorbachev said.

He recalled the internationalism displayed by Uzbek people during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. "Therefore, I shall tell you bluntly: Neither in Moscow nor among our people has there been a disrespectful attitude to Uzbekistan even at times difficult for it. We know that the people are not to blame. It is a certain group of individuals that are to blame for the past. Let them answer for it," Gorbachev said.

Touching on ecological problems, he said Soviet experts were studying the problem of the Aral Sea and weighing various options for reviving it.

U.S. Stresses 'Symmetry'

LD072103 Moscow TASS in English 2042 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 7 TASS—The first question asked today at a briefing in the U.S. Department of State was "what are the developments at the talks on Afghanistan?" Phyllis Oakley, representative of the U.S. Department of State, said: "We have noted with great interest the TASS statement reporting on the results of General Secretary Gorbachev's meeting with Najibullah in Tashkent. We too hope that rapid progress can be made in concluding the Geneva accords". However, she pointed out further that "certainly we continue to adhere to the concept of symmetry" under which Washington reserves for itself the right to supply with weapons the opposition armed groups.

Gorbachev Confirms Withdrawal

LD081035 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has confirmed that the Soviet Union intends to begin the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan on 15 May. He said that when addressing in Tashkent today party leaders and economic executives of Uzbekistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic. He said that all questions concerning a settlement around Afghanistan were discussed during his meeting with the Afghan President Najibullah, held in Tashkent on Thursday.

At the same time, the Soviet leader said that the withdrawal of the troops should not be regarded as a sort of present to President Reagan on the eve of his visit to the Soviet Union. He said: We are carrying out the plans that were outlined in our statement in February. We shall be acting energetically and cooperating with our Afghan friends and with all other supporters of a political solution of the problem in the interests of the Afghan people in order to see Afghanistan as a good neighbor with which the Soviet Union has long-standing traditions of cooperation.

Further, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that it is not only the policy of the Soviet Union that would be influencing the situation, but also other factors and forces that could complicate the process of a settlement,

and yet there is every reason to count on such an outcome which would be in the interests of the Soviet Union and the Afghan people.

Talks Continue 8 Apr

LD081040 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Geneva April 8 TASS—The Afghan-Pakistani talks conducted through the U.N. secretary-general's personal representative Diego Cordovez continued here today.

Cordovez met with the head of the Pakistani delegation, Zain Noorani, and the head of the Afghan delegation, 'Abdul Wakil.

Before that, Cordovez met with the Soviet representative, ambassador at large Nikolay Kozyrev.

Wakil, Noorani on Agreements

LD081153 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Geneva April 8 TASS—'Abdul Wakil, Afghan minister of foreign affairs, stated here at the close of today's round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks that agreements on settling the Afghanistan situation were ready for signature.

For his part, Zain Noorani, Pakistani minister of state for foreign affairs, also told journalists that the documents were ready for being signed, and expressed satisfaction on that score.

To Be Signed 14 Apr

LD081201 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Geneva April 8 TASS—An agreement was reached at Afghan-Pakistani talks here today, which provides for creating conditions for a peaceful settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan.

The agreement is to be signed not later than April 14, newsmen were told by Diego Cordovez, personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general.

7 Apr Statement Praised Abroad

LD081235 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The joint Soviet-Afghan statement issued by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Najibullah of Afghanistan in Tashkent on April 7 recorded the landmarks of the work done so far to settle the situation regarding Afghanistan and outlined realistic ways to restore peace and stability to the region.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan, it said, will act in keeping with their statements of February 8. This means that the course set then remains unchanged and has led to specific positive results.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan reaffirmed that if Geneva agreements on a settlement are signed in the shortest period. Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Afghanistan in the time-frame specified in these agreements, starting from May 15, just as the USSR and Afghanistan agreed earlier.

The statement supported the national reconciliation policy as making it possible to settle the situation regarding Afghanistan, terminate the fratricidal war, and achieve peace throughout Afghanistan.

The statement stressed that the final status of their country will be determined by the Afghans themselves and by them alone.

The foreign mass media reported the results of the Tashkent meeting of the Soviet and Afghan leaders as major news.

The British DAILY TELEGRAPH hailed it as having removed the last obstacles to agreement on the Afghan problem and paved the way to the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

THE TIMES described it as having furnished further proof of Moscow's resolve to carry out the program to return its troops from Afghanistan home.

The Japanese newspaper ASAHI said the joint Soviet-Afghan statement testifies to the fact that the Afghanistan problem is entering the final phase of a political settlement.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan urged other nations to help restore peace and national accord in Afghanistan and respect the Geneva agreements as this will set a good and encouraging example for solving other regional problems as well.

Cordovez: 'Package' Ready

LD081229 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 8 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva April 8 TASS—Afghan-Pakistani talks are over and all documents that make up the "Geneva Package" as components of a political settlement of the

situation regarding Afghanistan are "finalized and open for signature", Diego Cordovez the U.N. secretary-general's personal envoy to the negotiations, announced today.

He was speaking at a news conference in the Geneva Palace of Nations.

The documents include a bilateral agreement between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on principles of mutual relations, among them non-interference and the renunciation of intervention, a declaration of international guarantees by the Soviet Union and the United States, and a bilateral Afghan-Pakistani agreement on the voluntary return of refugees.

The "package" also provides for setting up and using machinery to verify the sides' compliance with their commitments.

Cordovez said that "any questions relating to the Government of Afghanistan are matters within the exclusive jurisdiction of Afghanistan and can only be decided by the Afghan people themsleves".

After noting that the Geneva accords offered a historic chance to ensure peace and prosperity for the Afghan people and normalize the situation in the region, he expressed the hope that all sides concerned, both in Afghanistan and elsewhere, would support and facilitate the process of implementing those agreements.

Sharing his impressions from the six years of the Afghan-Pakistani talks, conducted through him in Geneva, with reporters, Cordovez pointed to the good will and readiness for constructive cooperation demonstrated by the sides concerned, which, he said, had made it possible to clear formidable hurdles.

He added that some people would perhaps criticize the accords, but his reply to them would be telling them try and achieve anything better.

Even those Afghans that didn't like what had been achieved in Geneva should eventually come to the conclusion that if they really wanted peace in their country, their duty was to assist the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, Cordovez said.

U.S. Aid for Pakistani Military Condemned

PM071633 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

["Military-Political Commentary" by V. Vinogradov: "Who Needs a 'Strong Pakistan'?"]

[Text] According to a UPI report, Pakistan has begun producing a new ground-attack jet, the A-5. It has gone into production at a major aircraft construction complex in the Kamra region. The agency stresses that Islamabad's rulers have been waiting long and impatiently for this aircraft. Pakistan's military command has been in need of a ground-attack plane like the A-5, a mobile aircraft designed to support ground operations.

In the very near future the new ground-attack planes will go into service with subunits of the Pakistani Air Force stationed along the borders with India and Afghanistan. This clearly is why Pakistan's military circles were impatient for the production of the A-5 to begin.

Pakistan's leaders are quite clearly filling their arsenals with mounds of offensive weaponry. From the vantage point afforded by the military hardware they have acquired, they are casting envious glances at the territory of neighboring states. The number of armaments obtained by the Islamabad regime far exceeds its defense needs. That fact is indicated not only by Pakistan's worried neighbors but by other countries, too.

The United States has given and continues to give Pakistan help in building up its mighty militarist muscle. With its own hegemonist aims in mind, Washington is not averse to setting up a "strong Pakistan" in opposition to its neighbors in an attempt to play the "Pakistan card" against a number of states in south and southwest Asia. For example, under the first 6-year comprehensive deal worth almost $3.5 billion, the United States has placed a number of F-16 fighter-bombers, combat helicopters, tanks, artillery pieces, and missiles at the Pakistani generals' disposal.

A start has been made on implementing a new U.S.-Pakistan comprehensive deal—this time over 7 years and worth a total of $4.02 billion. Under this deal Pakistan will receive more F-16 fighter-bombers, helicopter gunships, self-propelled howitzers, and aircraft- and ship-borne missiles. Islamabad is trying to secure from the United States supplies of AWACS aircraft which it needs to gather intelligence information about its neighbors.

Incidentally, the question of deliveries of AWACS aircraft is one of many under discussion between Pakistani leaders and U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci, who arrived in Islamabad for an official visit yesterday. Judging by the experience of past years, it may be presumed that Pakistan will ultimately receive the U.S. aircraft—these "spies" in the sky. After all, Washington regards Pakistani territory as an important strategic bridgehead for mounting interventionist operations in both southwest and south Asia. And it is no coincidence that the well-known U.S. journal DEFENSE WEEK recently pointed out again that Pakistan would be the "ideal place" for the location of U.S. Central Command (Centcom) headquarters. Centcom has at its disposal the more than 200,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force intended for U.S. armed intervention in the world's "trouble spots."

There is another highly dangerous aspect to the arms race started by Pakistan with U.S. assistance. After all, as the Indian newspaper DECCAN CHRONICLE writes, Islamabad has the ability to create atomic bombs. The U.S. F-16S with which the Pakistani Air Force is being armed may be the delivery vehicles for them. "The regional arms race in which the United States is involved," the DECCAN CHRONICLE warns, "could develop into a nuclear one." That warning cannot simply be ignored.

A "strong Pakistan," whose leaders' militarist ambitions are being so skillfully encouraged by Washington, is becoming a source of tension in the region. And that undoubtedly is not in the national interests of either Pakistan itself or its neighbors.

PLO's 'Arafat Arrives in Moscow on Visit

Met by Dobrynin

LD071745 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 7 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) Executive Committee, today arrived in Moscow on a brief working visit. He was invited by the Soviet Government.

At the airport Yasir 'Arafat was met by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Interviewed Upon Arrival

LD072122 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 7 TASS—The Palestinian people are in special sympathy with the USSR and its leader Mikhail Gorbachev, highly appraise the Soviet Union's firm support for the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, their right to self-determination and creation of their own independent state on their land, Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, said upon arriving in Moscow today. Speaking in a TASS interview, he stressed the importance of the current visit to the USSR of the Palestinian delegation, which includes representatives of all the Palestinian organizations associated in PLO, in connection with the acuteness of the situation in the region.

Touching upon the tour of the Middle East by George Shultz, Yasir 'Arafat said that the U.S. secretary of state is trying to force on the Arabs an American settlement of the Palestinian issue, which disregards PLO, does not provide either for self-determination of the Palestinians or the creation of the Palestinian state without which "there can be no peace and stability in the region".

PLO's Qaddumi Interviewed

LD081354 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—The aim of the current visit by a Palestinian delegation led by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization's Executive Committee, is to "conduct consultations and coordinate actions with Soviet comrades", according to Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Executive Committee's Political Department.

Speaking in a TASS interview, he said the delegation includes representatives of different detachments of the Palestinian resistance movement.

Qaddumi described the visit as "historic" as it is taking place as a Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupiers is in its 4th month.

He said that a drastically new phase has begun in the struggle by Palestinian Arabs for their rights and that it is marked by the increased scope and punchiness of Palestinians' actions against occupation.

Reactions to Shultz Mideast Peace Plan Cited

Mission Termed 'Setback'

LD072057 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Damascus April 7 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksey Vlasov reports:

The Middle Eastern tour of U.S. State Secretary George Shultz is drawing to an end. Today he visited Riyadh, capital of Saudi Arabia, the last leg of his trip. He met King Fahd and conducted talks with him on the new U.S. proposals for the Middle Eastern settlement, SANA news agency reported.

Political and public quarters in the region concur that the new mission by Shultz was a setback. He failed to secure an approval for his "initiative" virtually everywhere.

In view of this, today's Syrian newspapers quote 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party [Ba'th], as stressing that the new U.S. initiative was only amended form of Camp David.

He said that Syria would receive positively only such a form of Middle Eastern settlement, which would provide for a total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and the granting of lawful national rights to the Arab people of Palestine. The foundations for this settlement should be laid down at an authoritative international conference on the Middle East, 'Abdallah al-Ahmar said.

Geyvandov Commentary

PM081035 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Konstantin Geyvandov dispatch: "There, Across the River, Is Palestine"]

[Text] Amman-Damascus-Moscow—At first they were exceedingly tense, uneasily glancing at me and then at the Jordanian Army officer who had volunteered to help me. They even refused to appear. Then, when they knew that I was a Soviet journalist, the tension on their faces noticeably disappeared, making way for a shy half-smile, and they started talking.

They were three young lads driving three trucks packed with citrus fruit and bananas, which at intervals in the course of an hour slowly crossed the King Husayn Bridge over the Jordan River (the Israeli authorities also close this source of livelihood for Palestinians). They were from different places—one from Gaza, living in a village near the Dayr al-Balah refugee camp; the second from Ramallah; and the third from Hebron, and there, on the other side of the river that they had just crossed, was Palestine.

They talked about the uprising by the Palestinian people, which has been blazing for 4 months now on the Israeli-occupied part of their motherland. They talked about the courage and steadfastness of the insurgents, the perfidy and treachery of the Israeli authorities, and the resolve of the Palestinians to bring their struggle to a victorious conclusion....

For many of the past few years the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories have celebrated Land Day at the end of March as a symbol of their indomitable spirit in the face of evil destiny. This year they have filled this symbol with material content in the shape of the struggle by an insurgent people for their independence. And this situation has changed many plans, broken many stereotypes, and exaggerated many virtually fixed values in the region.

In the Jordanian capital of Amman I met and talked with Muhammad Milhim, member of the PLO Executive Committee, who is responsible for work in the occupied territories. He is the combative mayor of Halhul on the West Bank, whom the Israeli occupying authorities deported several years ago. This was how, in conversation with me, he summed up the main lessons of the uprising:

"Twenty years of maneuvering in search of a compromise solution to the Palestinian problem have gotten nowhere. Now the time for compromise is over, as is the time when an outsider could speak for the Palestinians. We need a complete political resolution to the Palestinian problem. We need unconditional recognition for our people's right to self-determination and to the creation of an independent state. Later on, there is the task for the Palestinians themselves of solving the questions of their relations with neighboring states. And we will not now be backing down."

M. Milhim asked to appeal once again through our newspaper to Soviet people and the world community of nations for international solidarity and support for the just cause of the Palestinians, whose struggle is headed by the PLO.

Judging by the events currently taking place in the occupied Arab territories, this resolve expressed by Milhim is being backed up by concrete action. And those who have not forgotten how to think soberly must clearly consider it in the most serious fashion. It would be particularly appropriate to ponder the following question: Do the shifts currently discernible in U.S. policy on the Near East mean that Washington is starting to think about this too?

When I say shifts, I am thinking of certain elements in the "new" U.S. "initiative," which was made in the region in late February and early March and was discussed with the leaders of a number of countries by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. First and foremost it is a recognition now by Washington of the need for a comprehensive Near East settlement. And it is a question of the readiness to convene an international conference—admittedly on U.S. terms and arranged so as to suit the United States—and the acceptance that the Palestinians have "legitimate rights."

Certain explanations given at a special White House briefing by a ranking U.S. Administration spokesman on the recent Washington visit by Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir were also not without interest. Thus, answering a request to comment on Shamir's statement that any Near East settlement should be based on the Camp David formula, the U.S. Administration spokesman stated that the United States sees the "Camp David approach as a work of genius (?!) for its time and for the parties for which it was intended (namely, Israel and Egypt—K.G.).... It did not concern all the parties which we are now hoping to involve in the process of a peaceful settlement." And he went on: "The Camp David process has never included Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, or the Palestinians."

In short, the Americans themselves have now admitted that the Camp David process has nothing to do with the problem of a comprehensive and just Near East settlement. The attempts by the present Israeli prime minister to latch on to this formula in a desire to retain the occupied territories vividly reminded me of Milhim's remark that negotiating with the "Likud" party political bloc headed by Shamir is as useful as trying to get blood out of a stone.

Despite all this seeming progress, in the Arab countries the "new" U.S. initiative which Secretary of State Shultz has put in writing and personally presented to their leaders has been greeted with extreme caution, warily, and, at best, with numerous provisos. While in Damascus, I discussed this subject with an eminent Palestinian leader, Doctor George Habash, general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), who termed it dangerous political maneuvering by the United States in the Near East at the present time.

"This maneuvering," he said, "is aimed at splitting the popular uprising in the occupied Arab territories and isolating the PLO. A comprehensive and fair Near East settlement can only come about on the principled basis of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and a resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. The way to do this is to convene a representative and competent international conference on the Near East under UN auspices and with the participation of permanent Security Council members together with all interested parties, including the PLO as an equal partner at the talks."

Again in Damascus, I met with another well-known Palestinian figure—Talal Naji, deputy general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (PFLP-GC). It was members of his organization who last year carried out the daring hang glider raid on an Israeli military base—a raid that had an enormous impact. Needless to say, we talked about the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories. My interlocutor talked about its progress, the prospects for its development, and the immense sympathy it generated among the Arab masses. In this connection he also deemed it necessary to criticize certain Arab regimes, noting that they willingly allocate hundreds of millions of dollars, for instance, for the Afghan dushmans' counterrevolutionary activity, but are restrained—to put it mildly—when it is a question of supporting Palestinian uprisings.

As for the so-called new U.S. peace plan for the Near East, the main criterion in assessing it has been the extent to which it promotes the goals of achieving a fair settlement that takes account of the balance of interests among all parties to the conflict. Guided by this, the PLO and Syria rejected the plan. Their main motives were that the Americans are still unwilling to recognize the Palestinians' rights to self-determination, do not want to deal with the PLO—which is recognized by everyone as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine—and are trying to use an international conference as an "umbrella" for their Israeli clients' separate or partial deals.

On the other hand, Jordan, as Hani al-Khasawinah, the country's minister of information, told me in Amman, sees positive elements in the new U.S. peace plan for the Near East and is seriously studying the proposals by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. The Egyptian leadership has adopted a similar position. King Husayn of Jordan is currently holding intensive consultations with the leaders of the Arab world with a view to working out a united position on this question based on last year's decisions at the pan-Arab summit conference in Amman. In talking about attitudes toward the new U.S. initiatives, one cannot fail to note that for his own reasons, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir also has to all intents and purposes rejected them.

An animated discussion is currently under way in the Arab world on the convening of an emergency summit to discuss ways of supporting the uprising by the Arab people of Palestine. Welcoming the idea of holding such a conference, Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, stated that there should be one issue on the summit agenda—the popular uprising by the Palestinian population, the Palestinian revolution in all its aspects, and its development until the occupation is brought to an end.

These are some of the deep-seated processes triggered by the uprising by a people stripped of its rights over there, where the King Husayn Bridge ends, in Palestine. To this I would add a few words about the peace demonstration by 100,000 Israelis in Tel Aviv on the evening of 12 March. Salih Rashaf, one of the demonstration's organizers, stated: "Shamir says that he is extending the hand of peace, but there is a big stick in that hand. There can be no peace between the occupiers and those living in the occupied territories, between vanquishers and vanquished. Peace can only be concluded between two equals."

Yes, the idea of getting the Near East conflict out of deadlock by political means and the concept of a fair and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli crisis are now gaining wider and wider international support. This opportunity must not be lost.

Israel Reported To Plan Anti-Arab 'Adventure'

PM070953 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Pavel Demchenko "Viewpoint": "An Adventure Is in the Cards"]

[Text] It is already clear now that few people in Israel thought that the Palestinian uprising that flared up in the occupied lands in December would be so protracted, large in scale, and bitter. Over a period of almost 4 months all attempts to suppress it by means of punitive squads of the army, police, and special forces have failed to give Tel Aviv the expected result, although the number of Palestinian victims, particularly among young people, grows daily.

But, judging by foreign correspondents' reports, the ruling forces are worried most of all by the fact that the uprising has intensified ferment inside Israel itself, affecting even the party of such an inveterate hawk as

Prime Minister Shamir. It has become known, for example, that at least 500 young Israelis have refused to take part in punitive operations against Palestinians. A rally under the slogan "Put an End to the Occupation" has been held in Tel Aviv.

The point has been reached where even the mayor of Tel Aviv, who is far from being distinguished by his progressive views, has advocated an end to the occupation. Why should these lands not be returned to the Palestinians? he asked, causing no small confusion in the ranks of the rightwing Likud bloc, to which he himself belongs. "Many Israelis," the Paris magazine REVOLUTION writes, "even say that peace must be concluded with the enemy, and the enemy is the PLO".... That is to say, the very organization with which Tel Aviv officialdom wishes to have no truck at all.

Of course, such feelings must clearly not be overestimated, but their manifestation even in the right-wing camp is nevertheless symptomatic. And it is symptomatic in the same way that American diplomacy has adopted the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Near East, albeit with limited, truncated powers, when it has been outrightly rejected by Shamir and his supporters.

From reports received to date, one can conclude that in this atmosphere the gambling on force and adventurism inherent in the Israeli Government has gained the upper hand here. At least two thrusts are discernible. First, an attempt to put a stop to the uprising as quickly as possible. To this end the occupied lands have been completely cut off from the rest of the world, journalists have been forbidden entry, and even communication by telephone has been stopped. The defense minister has ordered the army to use all available means to crush the Palestinians within a week.

At the same time, as numerous reports by foreign news agencies make clear, Israel is planning major aggressive attacks on Arab neighbors—Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. The appearance of the latter in such a list may seem unexpected, but that would be wrong. Israel accuses Saudi Arabia of acquiring medium-range "East Wind" missiles from China, missiles which are capable of reaching Israeli territory.

The Saudi authorities make no secret of the fact that they are seeking to strengthen their defense in the face of the growing Iran-Iraq conflict. As in the past, they first turned to the United States. There, however, many aspects of the request were turned down, which forced the Saudis to seek another way out of the situation. The American ambassador tried to lecture Riyadh's refractory leaders on this score, but was shown the door. King Fahd stated that his country would continue to strengthen its defensive positions, despite the Israeli Government's threat to carry out a preemptive strike against the missiles purchased.

The threats against Syria and Iraq are also explained by the presence in those countries of missiles capable of reaching Israel. But why has such a fuss been kicked up at this precise moment? Those countries have long had the missiles in their possession.

What lies behind it, I think, is that the Israeli ruling circles are again banking on their favorite device: Depicting their country as a fortress beseiged by enemies and thereby diverting attention from the brutal treatment of the Palestinians. Nor do I rule out the real possibility of an Israeli attack on one of the several aforementioned countries. This has happened in the past. Let us remember, for example, the air raid on the Iraqi atomic reactor in 1981, the attack on Syrian missiles positions, and the bombing of the suburbs of the Tunisian capital.

A foreign adventure has in the past been considered by right-wingers in Israel as a means of helping to consolidate forces and heal rifts in relations with the United States at the same time. In a critical situation Washington always staunchly supports its "strategic ally" in the Near East. What is involved now is not just burying the first point of the "Shultz plan" concerning an international conference, but also, by complicating the situation, putting off any peace settlement for a long time. In other words, leaving the Palestinian and Syrian lands under Israeli occupation.

I do not think, however, that any adventure could in the present atmosphere crush the Palestinians' resolve to uphold their rights. It may hinder a political settlement of the Near East conflict but cannot bury it.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Oman

LD070924 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Muscat April 7 TASS—Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id of Oman received the leader of a visiting special mission of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament), Georgiy Tarazevich, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, here on Wednesday.

Ways to strengthen bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Oman, a number of international and regional issues, including matters aimed at ending the Iran-Iraq war, and a Middle East settlement were discussed during the conversation.

The usefulness and necessity of a continuation of regular exchanges of opinions on matters of mutual interest were emphasized during the meeting.

On the same day the special mission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, consisting of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet—Muminsho Kanoatov, first secretary of the Board of the Writers' Union of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, and Sergey Losev, director-general of

the Soviet news agency TASS, met with Yusuf ibn al-Alawi ibn 'Abdallah, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Sultanate of Oman.

During the talk, the Omani minister of state voiced hope that the Soviet parliamentarians' visit would make a positive contribution to the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Oman. He emphasized that Oman regarded with satisfaction the Soviet Union's peace initiatives in the international arena. On behalf of the Omani leadership he expressed gratitude for the USSR's stand on the problems of the Arab world.

Touching upon the situation in the Persian Gulf area, Yusuf ibn al-Alawi ibn 'Abdallah pointed out that the Iran-Iraq war aroused Oman's particular concern. The minister of state pointed out that his country was interested in ensuring the freedom of navigation through the Strait of Hormuz and in the Persian Gulf.

"Considering that the war is being fought in direct proximity to the Omani borders" he said, "we are grateful to the Soviet Union for the efforts it makes in the cause of promoting a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict in accordance with Resolution 598 of the United Nations Security Council. Oman welcomes and fully supports the Soviet proposal on the formation of a U.N.-flagged navy in the region. In case of sufficient support this common idea could be concretised, and a search for ways to implement it could be started".

"Oman is brought together with Iran and Iraq by good-neighbourly relations", the minister of state said, "and we continuously urge these two countries to find ways, in cooperation with the international community, to work out terms for a settlement of the conflict".

The special mission of the USSR Supreme Soviet also had a talk with 'Abu al 'Aziz ibn Muhammad al-Rawwas, Omani minister of information. He pointed out the Omani leadership's support for the idea of convening an international conference on a solution to the Middle East problem. The minister welcomed the new Soviet initiatives aimed at settling the Afghanistan situation.

PDRY Envoy Delivers Letter to Ryzhkov

EA062159 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Brother Dr Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah, Central Committee member and PDRY ambassador in the USSR, delivered a letter from Brother Dr Yasin Sa'id Nu'man, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, concerning technical and economic cooperation between the two friendly countries. It was delivered this afternoon when the brother ambassador met in Moscow with Comrade Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to whom he delivered the letter.

During their meeting the Yemeni and the Soviet sides expressed their gratification at the outcome of recent exchanges of visits at the ministerial level. The ambassador extended an invitation to Comrade Shcherbina to visit Democratic Yemen from Brother Salih Abu Bakr ibn Husaynun, member of the Central Committee, deputy premier and minister of energy and minerals. The invitation was accepted and the visit will take place toward the end of this year.

East Europe

Poland's Messner Departs Moscow 6 Apr

LD062302 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 April 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On behalf of the USSR Government, a luncheon was given in the Kremlin in honor of Comrade Messner, who was with the officials accompanying him on his trip. Present on the Soviet side were Comrades Ryzhkov, Maslyukov, and Medvedev; Comrade Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials. Comrades Ryzhkov and Messner exchanged speeches at the luncheon, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere. The text of the speeches will be published in the press.

In the evening, Zbigniew Messner left Moscow for home. At the airport, where the state flags of Poland and the Soviet Union were raised, he was seen off by Comrade Ryzhkov and other officials.

Hungary's Kadar Receives Pact Commander Kulikov

LD081037 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 Apr 88

[From the news headlines]

[Text] Party General Secretary Janos Kadar has received Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, in Budapest. The meeting was attended by Central Committee Secretary Gyeorgy Fejti and Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, the defense minister.

Petrovskiy Views Importance of Husak Visit

LD062236 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Our special correspondent in the USSR, David Stahlavsky, took part in today's news conference in Moscow where Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy discussed topical international issues. He spoke about the coming visit of Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, in the Soviet Union: I must say that we put a lot of importance on the coming visit of Comrade Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR. This visit is a part of the chain of actively and dynamically developing Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, he added. A new and

important impulse was Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to your country last year and that of Comrade Jakes to USSR this January. The implementation of the agreements attained during the summit talks, said Vladimir Petrovskiy, justifies our saying that our relations would attain a qualitatively higher level. This concerns both bilateral and multilateral issues.

The Soviet representative went on to appreciate the important role of our country in developing the process of disarmamant. In this connection he spoke in particular about the recent proposal by Comrade Milos Jakes to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighborly relations on the lines of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

When asked by Czechoslovak radio about his view of yesterday's joint declaration of the CPCZ, the SED, and the West German SDP [Social Democratic Party] to create a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe, the representative of the Soviet foreign minister said that this was a very important initiative, especially at a time when the talks about chemical weapons in Geneva are becoming more complicated due, above all, to the United States. This is an action which could favorably influence these talks, presupposing the working out of a convention about a complete and general ban on chemical weapons, said USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy in conclusion.

BCP's Filipov on Conference, Self-Management

PM071147 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee: "At a New Stage"]

[Text] Sofia—Today the BCP and all the Bulgarian people are experiencing the impact of the decisions reached by the National Party Conference held in January this year. It approved, developed, and concretized the concept of radically restructuring our society which had been evolved by the July (1987) BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The direct aim of our restructuring is to guarantee the people's well-being. The individual with all his interests is the focus of the current revolutionary transformations.

The Soviet Union's restructuring experience has particular significance for us. The ideas developed by the 27th CPSU Congress and the January and June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenums coincide with our strategic course. This gives us a new boost, new impetus in the implementation of our own restructuring process.

Our party and people are armed with a clear, scientifically substantiated program for radical transformations in Bulgaria. The conclusions drawn by the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and the National Party Conference drew particular attention to the nature of the restructuring process. The party has outlined the way to make far-reaching revolutionary changes in all spheres of life. The need for these changes has arisen because of the new historical realities in our country and throughout the world.

During the years it has been building socialism, Bulgaria has made a great leap forward in its development unequaled in our 13 centuries-long history. At the same time, it has become clear that the present socialist model has exhausted itself. Many socialist countries are entering a new stage of dynamic development. All-around renewal processes which have decisive significance for world socialism and all mankind are taking place in the Soviet Union.

Our aim is not to improve individual aspects of our society but to effect far-reaching, integral changes in every sphere of life. This is reflected in the July concept of further building socialism in Bulgaria, which is essentially a model for socialism's qualitatively new development in our country.

The new model is the fruit of the creative quest by our party and its Central Committee and the personal contribution made by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee. Objective logic, socialist principles, and the sum of communist ideals are the "supporting structure" of this model of development. It is founded on the dialectics of the general, the particular, and the individual in socialist building. The specific manifestation of general laws in any given country makes it possible to create specific models of socialist society.

The National Party Conference emphasized that the general thrust of restructuring in our country is to make Buigarian society self-managing society. There is no principle other than the principle of socialist self-management that would unify and guarantee changes in the basis and in the superstructure. The introduction of self-management has begun in the basic cells of the social organism—the labor collectives and municipalities [obshchiny].

Our experience has shown us that there can be no thorough restructuring without changes in the political system and without breaking away from the old bureaucratic and administrative methods of management. That is why the main feature in our concept is to make the transition from power on behalf of the people to power exercised by the people. This feature of the restructuring process is reflected in the formation of self-managing organizations as integrated technological, economic, and social systems. Their labor collectives are developing into active agents of management with enormous power. This power is not only economic; it is also political,

spiritual, and social. For the first time, enterprise managers have been elected and will continue to be elected democratically, by the labor collectives themselves.

Self-managing organizations operate as real commodity producers. They have every right to make their own decisions concerning planning, production activity, the formation of their own structures, the choice of suppliers and clients, and their role in the domestic and international markets. On the basis of the self-management principle, enterprise labor collectives have formed their own economic associations to solve general strategic tasks.

The reform of the administrative-territorial division of the country and the formation of new territorial social communities have transformed the municipalities into self-managing units and made the people living in them masters of their economic and spiritual life. City and village dwellers are themselves solving all vital problems concerning their everyday life, work, leisure, and so forth.

The principle of self-management not only does not nullify the Leninist principle of democratic centralism—it actually leads to the fuller utilization of this principle. In conditions of self-management, this principle will be expanded, not on the basis of a balance of opposites (a balance between democracy and centralism) but by improving the strategic functions of the "center" and broadly democratizing all social life. Restructuring in the highest organs of administration is now geared to this aim. The height of the social pyramid is being reduced, and its long, hierarchical ladder of bureaucratic departments is being eliminated.

Changes have been made in the Council of Ministers. A series of sectorial and functional ministries and councils has been dissolved and new, integrated ones formed. The task of higher organs is to concentrate their attention on strategic leadership of the state.

There is no doubt that this is just the beginning of the planned changes in the upper echelons. Comprehensive transformations will be made on the basis of constitutional changes now being drawn up. It is planned to create a new legal system suitable for self-management.

The concept of qualitatively new socialist development includes the formation of the corresponding material and technical base and radical change in economic relations. A combination of science, data processing, computers, and new, progressive technology is being used for this purpose. A characteristic feature of this process is the increasing internationalization of the economy. Our cooperation with the Soviet Union is being raised to a new level. Scientific and technical and production cooperation are our priority here.

Bringing the economic mechanisms of CEMA countries closer together and forming a common socialist market are matters of exceptional importance for Bulgaria. The transition to convertible currencies by the CEMA countries would help considerably to "mutually open up" their national economies for direct production and trade relations, for the movement of capital and manpower, the means of production, goods, and new ideas, and for the full demonstration of the advantages of socialist integration.

The National Party Conference noted that we essentially need a new system of economic relations. The main task here is to radically change the attitude toward socialist ownership. For us it is a single, indivisible whole in the wide diversity of equal forms. Society has an interest in seeing this diversity become even greater so that this ownership can be appreciated in its best forms.

The conference reached the conclusion that socialist ownership can no longer be identified with state ownership and remain solely in the control of state organs. This has led to people's alienation from ownership and the alienation of some organs of power from the people. Consequently, our party believes that a key feature of restructuring in Bulgaria is the transfer of ownership to labor collectives. One decisive step in this direction was the 1987 National Assembly declaration on the basis of which labor collectives and workers are now becoming real, active "collective owners" and proprietors of socialist property and have real power with every managerial and administrative right.

We are developing various forms of cooperation, family and group contracts, and the use of individual labor activity. There are plans for proportional participation by working people, who will be able to invest their earned income in the formation and development of socialist ownership projects.

The new system of economic relations envisages major economic reform of the management system and the formation of a new mechanism. This reform is based on extensive use of the law of value and commodity-money relations, full disclosure of the system of interests, and a move away from chiefly administrative methods toward economic methods of management. Its implementation has begun with the introduction of new economic regulators and normatives ratified by the Statute on Economic Activity, which came into force at the beginning of this year. All commodity producers must now work in similar economic conditions, concern themselves with economic accountability [khozraschet], and have direct links with the domestic and international markets.

Our approach to drawing up the state plan and to its content has changed radically. We are making the transition to normative-based planning. The plan has become an economic category. It is the starting point for the activity of all organizations and is formed by talking with the commodity producers themselves. The labor

collectives have become the subject of planning. Factors such as price, tax, credit, wages, customs duties, interest rates, and so forth are acquiring new meaning.

In connection with the open nature of our economy, we have begun to bring basic wholesale prices to the level and correlation of prices formed on foreign markets. A new taxation system has been introduced which is characterized by the universal, unified nature of the taxes. A banking reform is being carried out on a broad front. A new labor compensation system is being introduced. Restrictions on growth in individual income are being removed, and wages will be paid for the end results and the appropriate qualifications. The lump wage payment system will be broadly used.

The main incentive that will free the people's energy is full implementation of the principle of socialist justice. Everyone must be rewarded on the basis of his abilities, knowledge, and work. Whoever gives and creates more must be given more in return. Whoever works badly will go bankrupt. These changes in the economic mechanism are the first stage in our economic reform. We have to draw up a code for self-managing communities.

The new model of economic relations guarantees the conditions for creating and broadly developing socialist competition in all spheres of our society.

A pivotal place in the conference's work was given to problems connected with the functioning and development of the party at this new stage. The conference emphasized that, as the political vanguard of the working class and all the people, the BCP is the strike force of restructuring and the initiator, organizer, and leader of its direct implementation. This does not mean, however, that it does not have to restructure itself and review its place, role, and functions in society and its work style, forms, and methods.

The party will continue to have the right and the responsibility to map out the strategy of our progress and determine the basic directions to be taken by the country's socioeconomic development. But the method of implementing party decisions is being changed. The party will fulfill its leading role through Communists and through their activity in labor collectives and territorial communities.

The Communist Party must not be a "stage" in the hierarchy of state power. Party and state organs can and must not only be partners but also opponents when necessary. We see this as consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of party work.

The National Party Conference attached exceptional significance to Todor Zhivkov's proposal that henceforth leading posts in the party—from general secretary of the BCP Central Committee to secretary of a primary party organziation—be held for two consecutive mandates and only in exceptional cases for three terms. At the same time, he proposed to introduce the mandate principle to state organs and all social organizations.

The restructuring process in our country is irreversible. It is a historic, revolutionary task.

West Europe

Further on Visit of FRG's Brandt to Moscow

Holds Talks With Gromyko

PM071301 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Talk in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 6 April in the Kremlin, A.A. Gromyko received Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International and former FRG federal chancellor, who is in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

With him came Jan Pronk, deputy chairman of the Labor Party (Netherlands), and Claus Lindenberg, assistant to the Socialist International chairman, as well as Andreas Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR. G.M. Korniyenko, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, took part in the talk on the Soviet side.

At the start of the talk, W. Brandt described the profound impression made on him by the meeting he had had the previous day with M.S. Gorbachev. Restructuring, the guest noted, is a process which is generating enormous interest among foreign observers. It is perhaps difficult to understand all its details connected with the USSR's domestic policy, but for foreign people it is important that it is exerting a beneficial influence on the Soviet Union's cooperation with other countries. It is also important that the chance that restructuring provides can be used in the West to build a "common European home."

A.A. Gromyko drew his interlocutor's attention to the fact that the idea of the "common European home" was put forward by M.S. Gorbachev and is gaining more and more new champions. In examining the question of restructuring, it may be said that our successes—and they must and will come to pass—will not make things worse for anyone. On the contrary, the Soviet Union's successes in the field of internal transformations will only increase the opportunities for expanding business-like ties, above all with the European states.

The Soviet state's domestic and foreign affairs are thus organically interlinked. If someone were to set himself the aim of separating the USSR's foreign policy from restructuring, this would be a waste of effort; he would be unable to do it.

We conceive of the consolidation of our ties with all countries within the context of improving the overall situation in the world. When we speak of improving relations with other countries, we include in this the improvement of relations with your country—the FRG.

In domestic policy, restructuring has in mind transformations in the field of the economy, the social sphere, and spiritual life, the democratization of all society, and the development of glasnost, and in foreign policy, the further activation of our efforts aimed at disarmament and peace.

Our party cadres, working class, kolkhoz peasantry, intelligentsia, and the entire Soviet people consider restructuring to be their vital concern. They all feel enthusiasm and are fully determined to fulfill the party's plans.

W. Brandt drew his interlocutor's attention to the fact that his talk with M.S. Gorbachev touched on questions of the "North-South" dialogue, which would be worth discussing in more detail. To this A.A. Gromyko replied that in our country we usually call this "dialogue" relations between the developed and developing countries, but at present these relations come down mainly to the "debts problem," which has become one of the most serious in the world. The figures for the debts owed by the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to the biggest developed countries of the West and to international financial organizations created by the same developed countries speak for themselves. If this line is continued, the developing countries are doomed to be debtors for many years.

Under the prevailing conditions someone must analyze this problem objectively and resolve it positively. The United Nations could also engage in a search for a way out of the situation. There will be no losers from a fair solution of the debts problem: Everyone will stand to gain.

If we are speaking of the Soviet Union's position, we are in favor of the United Nations coming to the defense of all countries that have found themselves enslaved by debts.

The interlocutors revealed the proximity of their positions on this question, and the Soviet side noted that socialists coming out in support of the developing countries will always be in a single formation with the Soviet Union.

J. Pronk: At the General Assembly session, the Soviet Union has already repeatedly raised the question of the link between disarmament and development. You, Mr Gromyko, also once spoke of this at a UN General Assembly session. But how do matters stand now? Are the questions of how the funds released from arms expenditure should be used for the struggle against hunger in a number of countries being discussed during the Soviet-U.S. talks?

A.A. Gromyko: Yes. We are in favor of some of the funds which could be saved as a result of the reduction of the colossal arms expenditure being channeled into aid to the developing countries. That is part of our policy in the disarmament field, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has stated it repeatedly. We are stating this to all countries of the world, we are also stating this to the United States.

Then there was a discussion of the role of the two biggest international financial organizations—the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

A.A. Gromyko said that these organizations were formed back during World War II. At the time a model for their possible operations was discussed, and the Soviet Union displayed a negative attitude toward them. Since then the situation has not improved but has even deteriorated.

The interlocutors discussed the situation in the Near East and the Persian Gulf region. Their views on these problems were virtually the same. The problem of ending the Iran-Iraq war consists in ensuring that both sides fulfill the well-known UN Security Council resolution.

The solution of the Near East problem will have no chance of success unless an international conference is convened with the participation of the interested sides, including the permanent members of the UN Security Council and representatives of the PLO.

The development of events recently attests that the Arab countries support the idea of such a conference. This idea is being blocked only by the United States and Israel. As is well known, the United States has elaborated its own "settlement" plan, but it is meeting with no support among the Arab states.

A.A. Gromyko stressed that the situation in the Near East remains potentially dangerous.

Having begun the talk with a mention of the problem of the "common European home," A.A. Gromyko and W. Brandt ended it with a detailed examination of this question.

All European states, A.A. Gromyko said, should not forget that the Europeans are connected by numerous visible and invisible threads. That is why they must all protect the "common European home" from the conflagration of war.

W. Brandt drew attention to the fact that it is essential to consider not only individual countries but also associations of countries. Existing alliances of states should not be cut off from each other but should fill the formula of "the common European home" with specific life.

Then they touched on the question of the development of relations between the USSR and the FRG. In speaking about this subject, A.A. Gromyko noted that the history of relations between the two countries knows of various pages. We are in favor of those pages which make it possible to develop relations on a healthy basis.

In this connection W. Brandt recalled the Moscow treaty signed in 1970. In his view, with this treaty the two states laid new foundations in their relations for the long term.

A.A. Gromyko fully agreed with this opinion. Moreover, he called the Moscow treaty "an important frontier" in the history of relations not only between the two states but also among all Europe.

The talk took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Holds News Conference

LD061521 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—"In Moscow we received very frank information on perestroyka in the Soviet Union, which has an effect on international affairs too," Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, said at a press conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen here today.

"I'm quite satisfied with the conversations with Mikhail Gorbachev, Andrey Gromyko and Anatoliy Dobrynin. They gave us an impression that the Soviet policy toward peace and disarmament would be continued," he went on.

Brandt said that he would inform the parties of the Socialist International and the West German Government about the results of the conversations and talks in Moscow. "We think this is advisable in the light of the forthcoming visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Soviet Union," he said.

Brandt voiced the hope that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles would be followed by a Soviet-U.S. agreement on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive armaments.

He emphasised the great importance of reducing conventional weapons for European security and pointed out the "very constructive approach" of the Soviet side to searching for ways to solve the problem.

Brandt spoke highly of the initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social Democratic Party of Germany which had proposed that the governments of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and West Germany immediately enter into talks on eliminating chemical weapons and on creating in central Europe a corridor that would be free from this kind of weapons of mass annihilation.

He emphasised that this measure could not replace a comprehensive convention on chemical weapons, now being drafted at the Geneva talks. Yet, he said, the creation of such a corridor would make it possible to try in practice a mechanism of chemical disarmament verification.

Brandt said the Soviet Union had welcomed the initiative and another proposal of the three parties on creating a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe.

The president of the Socialist International advocated continued contacts between Social Democratic and Communist parties. He said representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were planning a joint meeting next summer to discuss issues of building a "European home".

Describes Gorbachev Mindset

LD061534 Hamburg DPA in German 1412 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Following his several-day visit to Moscow, Willy Brandt, SPD [Social Democratic Party] honorary chairman and president of the Socialist International, expects a series of new initiatives by the Soviet Union in all areas of international cooperation. This justified him in saying "one was returning with additional hope", Brandt told the press in Moscow on Wednesday. Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev described it as "urgent and necessary" to go beyond the traditional East-West topics in preparing international negotiations and reaching agreements, Brandt said. He named among others the subjects of world hunger and the decline in economic and ecological structures, above all in the poor developing countries.

Brandt said he had been informed in Moscow about a new Soviet initiative for correct exchanges of data in the field of conventional disarmament. The Federal Republic, Western Europe, and the Atlantic Alliance should take this proposal "very seriously", Brandt said, but he gave no details.

He said the proposal envisaged each of the two alliance systems informing the other "what it has" and what it believes the other side possesses. On contentious, data proceedures were then envisaged for establishing "who is right and how the unclear points are to be resolved."

This was a path which could lead to conventional stability in Europe and which "deserves open-mindedness and support," Brandt said. He announced that SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr, who accompanied Brandt in Moscow, aimed to brief the Federal Government on the course of the talks. Bahr described it as desirable for understanding to be reached on the data question by the time of the forthcoming fourth Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow at the end of May. He called on the Federal Government "to say yes to this exchange of data." This "would be a very good entry ticket" for Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is expected in Moscow in the autumn, Bahr said. [passage omitted]

On Wednesday Brandt indirectly contradicted in front of journalists the impression created in Western media that Gorbachev's position could be in jeopardy. Asked in what state of mind the Soviet leader was during the conversation, Brandt replied: "The man is fully alert, full of concentration and at the same time surprisingly relaxed. Determined, relaxed, immersed in his task, that is very impressive indeed."

Brandt said that Gorbachev's colleagues had drawn his attention on his arrival on Monday evening to the articles in the two central papers, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and PRAVDA. He received a translation of the PRAVDA article. That is at least "very interesting because it also gives an outsider an impression, in part, of the difficulty of the problems involved, and in part of the very diversified way in which the issues arising are being treated." In the discussions with Gorbachev, this was "not of course a topic." That is an "important internal process in the Soviet Union" which "does not concern us directly."

Meets With Sakharov

LD062105 Hamburg DPA in German 1941 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Willy Brandt, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] honorary chairman and president of the Socialist International, met Soviet critic Andrey Sakharov in his house in Moscow shortly before Brandt's return to the Federal Republic on Wednesday. The conversation lasted around 50 minutes. Sakharov and Brandt talked afterwards only briefly to journalists. Brandt said he is satisfied that he had been able to see Sakharov within the context of his visit to the USSR which has lasted a number of days. Sakharov did not wish to expand on the content of the discussion either; he described it, however, as "very, very good."

Brandt started his return journey immediately after the meeting with Sakharov. [passage omitted]

Interviewed on Restructuring

LD062247 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 6 Apr 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Dimitriy Biryukov; interview with Willy Brandt, president of Socialist International and honorary SPD chairman, by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver "before his departure" from Moscow—recorded in German with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] [Zholkver] You have visited our country repeatedly, but this time you have come during the restructuring drive. What do you think is particularly noteworthy about this visit?

[Brandt] I have convinced myself that the restructuring process is taking place with great conviction, determination and frankness [otkrovennost]. I can feel the intensive and active nature of this process. I am sure that it is of immense importance, not only for your country, but for the whole situation in the world, primarily for the consolidation of peace and expansion of cooperation in Europe, and not only in Europe. In short, I believe that the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union is extremely important for all of us.

[Zholkver] Disarmament issues and the establishment of cooperation in our common European home were also discussed widely during your conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. What view do you, as president of Socialist International, hold on these matters?

[Brandt] The development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States is of very great importance for Europe. I agree with those who believe that the most important thing now is a considerable reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Of course, this issue has not yet been resolved, but we hope that an agreement to that effect will be concluded.

Now we must also talk about specific measures in reducing conventional arms, in order to strengthen stability in Europe at a lower level of weapons. I believe that the Soviet Union's proposal on an exchange of data regarding the present level of these arms is of very great importance in this connection. It is a very simple proposal and easy to implement. The two sides must exchange these data and reach agreement on the necessary arms reductions. This is a new important element in the discussion about strengthening security in Europe.

[Zholkver] You head the North-South Commission in Socialist International. Which problems of the Third World do you consider are the most important now?

[Brandt] [Passage omitted] I rate highly the Soviet Union's initiative at the United Nations—disarmament for development. I have become convinced in Moscow

now that it is not an isolated proposal but a comprehensive program. I would welcome very much even more active involvement by the Soviet Union in solving all these highly important issues.

Seen Off at Airport

LD061929 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—The president of the Socialist International, honourary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Willy Brandt left Moscow today, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Egon Bahr and Deputy Chairman of the Dutch Labour Party Jan Pronk left together with him.

At the airport the guests were seen off by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin and other high-placed officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

40th Anniversary of Finland Friendship Pact

Foreign Ministry Cables

PM070853 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Foreign Ministry has sent Finnish Foreign Minister K. Sorsa a telegram in which it conveyed to him friendly greetings on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

"The mutual understanding and profound trust between the USSR and Finland created on the basis of our treaty, and the creative realization of the realities of the modern world," the telegram says, "open up extensive opportunities for the further dynamic development of multifaceted cooperation between our states and peoples, and their productive collaboration in international affairs in the interests of building harmonious interstate relations and security which is reliable and equal for all countries and peoples."

In a reply telegram, K. Sorsa sent USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze warmest congratulations.

"The experience accumulated in relations between our countries in the years since the 1948 treaty came into effect," it says, "is convincing proof of its value as a fundamental document which ensures security and trust and opens up multifaceted opportunities for developing cooperation. The substantial results of our cooperation achieved over the past decades create fine points of departure for constantly developing our contacts in diverse spheres in accordance with the new demands of the time. As we embark upon a new decade for the treaty, we shall act purposefully in this direction."

Supreme Soviet Greets Koivisto

PM080838 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium message: "To His Excellency Mr Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic of Finland"]

[Text] On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the peoples of the Soviet Union, we send to you, Mr President, and through you to the friendly people of Finland, cordial congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between our states.

Reflecting the Leninist principles of mutual relations between states and peoples, our treaty stimulated a multifaceted process of developing new content and forms of collaboration between the USSR and Finland. Today our two countries can rightly be proud of their intensive and fruitful, mutually enriching cooperation in virtually all spheres of intercourse between the Soviet Union and Finland.

The Soviet-Finnish talks at summit level held during your official visit, Mr President, to the Soviet Union in October 1987 show that both sides firmly intend to continue to pursue the course of preserving and strengthening mutual trust and enriching Soviet-Finnish cooperation and to establish qualitatively new ties between our states' peoples. We are confident that this line accords fully with the tasks posed for our countries by today's dynamically developing world, which requires joint efforts by all states to strengthen the fresh winds in the international situation and build a comprehensive security system, of which a zone of peace and fruitful collaboration in the north of our planet could form a part.

We sincerley wish you, Mr President, successes and good health, and we wish the people of friendly Finland happiness and prosperity.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Koivisto Greets Leaders

PM080840 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from Finnish President Mauno Koivisto: "To Their Excellencies Mr M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Mr A.A. Gromyko, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Mr N.I. Ryzhkov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Today, as we mark a notable anniversary in the history of Finnish-Soviet relations—the 40th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and

Mutual Assistance—I would like on my own account and on behalf of the people of Finland cordially to greet you and, through you, all the Soviet people.

On this notable day for our relations, on the basis of 4 decades of experience, we can say that the treaty fully meets its main task, uncovering its inherent potential for the development of mutual cooperation. The resolution of questions of security policy that is enshrined in the treaty holds a central place in our relations. The treaty's positive influence is felt both in our bilateral relations and on a broader plane—in our region and in Europe as a whole. The trusting, good-neighborly cooperation that has grown up between our countries on the basis of the treaty since it has been in force has yielded considerable mutually beneficial results. Trust and mutual respect—characteristic features of our relations today—are a great achievement of our peoples.

On the threshold of the 5th decade of the treaty's history, we have firm foundations on which to base further work to build our relations. By combining the treaty and the experience accumulated in the course of its implementation with new creative decisions and forms of activity that meet the demands of the time, especially in the sphere of economic collaboration, we can be sure that relations between Finland and the Soviet Union will always develop positively.

Mauno Koivisto

President of the Republic of Finland

Further on Zaykov Visit to Helsinki for Jubilee

Talks to Finnish Travelers

LD051529 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1300 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, has begun his visit to Finland. Zaykov is leading a Soviet delegation taking part in the 40th anniversary celebrations in Finland of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance [YYA]. The Soviet delegation arrived here at midday by train because foggy weather has upset air transport. At Helsinki railway station, Premier Harri Holkeri led the reception party.

In an exceptionally direct way, the Soviet guest also talked with Finnish travellers at the station.

[Begin Zaykov recording in Russian fading into Finnish translation] How do our northern neighbors live here? How big are the 40th YYA Treaty anniversary celebrations in Finland? [passage indistinct]. [end recording]

Tomorrow Zaykov will meet with the president of the Republic and will speak at the YYA Treaty commemoration. Today Zaykov has met, among others, the leaders of the Finland-USSR Society.

Visits Lenin Museum-Apartment

LD051903 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Helsinki April 5 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU], secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, arrived in Finland today to attend the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Finland.

Today the delegation laid wreaths at the tombs of past presidents of Finland, Juho Paasikivi and Urho Kekkonnen.

Then the delegation laid flowers at the memorial plaque on the building where Vladimir Ilich Lenin had lived in August-September 1917.

The delegation leader made an entry in the honorary visitors book of the apartment-museum of the founder of the world's first socialist state.

The delegation had a meeting and a talk in the "Finland-The Soviet Union" Society. The leadership of society handed over the first volume of a book entitled "V.I. Lenin in Finland" to the leader of the Soviet delegation. The book had just been published here.

Lev Zaykov, having highly appreciated the society's contribution to the development of friendly relations between the two countries, handed over the medal, which had been issued in honour of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the leadership of the society.

Meets With Soviet Employees

PM070856 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Delegation of the Soviet Union in Finland"]

[Text] Helsinki, 5 Apr—At the USSR Embassy L.N. Zaykov met with the collective of employees of Soviet institutions in Finland. A principled, comradely discussion took place on ways of increasing the efficiency of work in all avenues of restructuring and on the implementation of the decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

Remarks at Helsinki Dinner

PM070858 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Delegation of the Soviet Union in Finland"]

[Text] Helsinki, 5 Apr—A dinner was given by Finnish Prime Minister H. Holkeri in honor of the Soviet delegation.

On behalf of the Soviet delegation, L.N. Zaykov cordially thanked the prime minister for the kind reception and warm welcome. From the first moments of its stay in Finland, he said, our delegation sensed the atmosphere of friendliness and hospitality that is so characteristic of relations between our peoples. There is every reason to say that friendship and good-neighborliness with the Soviet Union have put down deep roots in your country.

We know that the 1948 treaty enjoys broad support from the Finnish people. The same approach is characteristic of Soviet people, too.

There is nothing surprising about that. The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance is not simply an interstate document for us. The whole 40-year period since it was signed shows that it has become a true charter of friendship and good-neighborliness. It gives real form to the age-old aspirations of our countries' peoples for peace and cooperation.

During jubilee celebrations, both in Finland and in our own motherland we look confidently to the future and speak with pride of our joint successes. These successes are mutual. The lasting mechanism of political, economic, and humanitarian cooperation that has been created and that works steadily to deepen mutual trust, makes it possible constructively to tackle any questions that arise.

Our achievements did not come of their own accord. It took years and tremendous efforts on both the Soviet and the Finnish side. In this connection let me recall the Finnish proverb: "He who carries the burden knows its weight."

Later generations will remember kindly those who showed great civic courage and spared no effort for the sake of strengthening Soviet-Finnish cooperation. It is now clear that their labor was not in vain; these efforts are bearing remarkable fruit.

The Soviet delegation's present visit is not my first visit to your country. This new encounter with Finland shows once again that life does not stand still. It is clear how far your country has traveled in its development in recent years.

In our country, as you know, restructuring is in progress and the economic reform and democratization of public life are gathering speed. It is gratifying that toward the end of the 20th century, our country is experiencing a period of renewal and reconstruction.

In this connection, I believe the time has come for new impetus in Soviet-Finnish cooperation, first and foremost in the economic sphere. I cannot claim any ready-made formulas, but I believe we should set about restructuring the structure of economic relations and seeking new forms of cooperation.

Today life itself demands that we do not rest on our laurels but move forward with renewed energy. We believe that by joint efforts we can achieve new progress in Soviet-Finnish relations.

We have a reliable guide, tried and tested over the decades—the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. Firmly following the path defined by this document, our countries can look confidently to the future of our relations and make their contribution to resolving the central tasks of the present day—ensuring peace and security and humanizing international relations.

In conclusion, L.N. Zaykov greeted H. Holkeri and all the Finnish friends and proposed a toast in honor of friendship and good-neighborly cooperation between the USSR and Finland.

The dinner took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Joint Enterprise Pact Signed

LD061847 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondent Krutov video report from Helsinki]

[Text] It has been foggy in Helsinki for the past week, but on this festive day, as if to order, the sun shone through. In the morning a conversation took place between Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov, who heads the USSR delegation, and Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland. The head of the delegation conveyed to the president warm friendly greetings from the Soviet leaders. He noted the broad scope and high level of the celebrations of the treaty in Finland.

In the conversation, it was stressed once again that both the USSR and Finland have an interest in friendship between our peoples and in showing constant concern not only in maintaining what has been achieved but also in developing everything of value in Soviet-Finnish links.

At the Soviet trade mission, an agreement on establishing another joint Soviet-Finnish enterprise was signed. Present at the solemn ceremony were the members of the

USSR delegation led by Comrade Zaykov, Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri, and representatives of the country's business circles. The Finnish Valio company and the Estrybprom [Estonian fishing industry] will build a works to produce fish products.

Meets With Koivisto

PM081153 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Following the Course of Cooperation"]

[Text] Helsinki, 6 Apr—Finland and its capital are in a festive mood. The spring wind off the Baltic is ruffling the state flags that have been hoisted in connection with today's 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, head of the Soviet delegation at the celebrations in connection with this significant event, had a conversation today with Finnish President M. Koivisto.

The delegation head conveyed warm, friendly greetings from the Soviet leaders and announced that CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev had asked him once again to congratulate M. Koivisto on his election to the important post and wish him success in his important state activity, an important part of which is the maintenance and development of good-neighborly relations with our country.

Having expressed sincere gratitude for the invitation to visit Finland at this jubilee time, the delegation head noted the extensiveness and high level of the treaty anniversary celebrations in the country. This, he noted, is evidence of the significance Finland attaches to the treaty.

We in the Soviet Union also believe that the document still retains all of its topical significance, he said.

Our treaty is a unique document in relations between states with different social systems. In signing it 40 years ago, our countries opened up a new era in mutual relations and placed them on the sound basis of mutually advantageous cooperation, trust, and good-neighborly friendship. These are now definitive traits of collaboration between the USSR and Finland.

There is every justification for saying that even today the treaty is an important factor of peace in our region and, therefore, in the European Continent as a whole. Now that we are calling for the restructuring of international relations and the introduction of new, humane categories into the practice of interstate relations, it is strikingly apparent that the 1948 treaty is one of the first European shoots of the new political thinking.

It was further emphasized that cooperation between our countries has rich potential for future dynamic development in all spheres—political, economic, and humanitarian. The guarantee of this is the profound restructuring processes in the Soviet Union and the joint desire to find and utilize new collaborartion formulas.

Questions of trade and economic cooperation are now in the forefront of Soviet-Finnish relations. Ensuring not only a high standard, but reliable prospects for Soviet-Finnish economic ties remains a topical task. After all, trade is a mutual venture. The conversation went on to examine specific opportunities for the further development of Soviet-Finnish trade and economic cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit.

In particular, the Finnish side's attention was drawn to the program for the acceleration of economic and social development in Murmansk Oblast in the period up to 2000. The program provides for large-scale international cooperation as one area of activity. This concerns the development of the mineral resources of the Kola Peninsula.

Among other spheres of cooperation touched on in the conversation was the theme of the peaceful study and use of outer space. The Soviet leadership, L.N. Zaykov said, is prepared to consider positively the Finnish side's counterproposals on broader cooperation, including, perhaps, the training of a Finnish cosmonaut. Other promising areas of scientific and technical cooperation were examined.

The significance of the period mankind is going through at the moment is the fact that the first step has been taken toward a future nuclear-free world. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is still on the tables of the Soviet and U.S. legislators, but people have finally obtained what they have been hoping for for a long time.

Although the treaty was concluded between two countries—the USSR and the United States—we have every reason to regard it as the collective creation of international reason. We knew, the Soviet delegation head said, that we had the backing of such states as Finland, and this helped us in our work. We will do all we can to ensure that the train of disarmament does not stop.

Intensive work is under way at the moment to prepare an agreement on the elimination of half of the Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms. It can be said with guarded optimism that there is a chance of success in the not too distant future on other types of armaments as well: chemical and conventional.

It is necessary to switch without delay to the quest for viable formulas for security and trust in the north. This is the aim of the Soviet initiatives put forward by M.S.

Gorbachev in Murmansk. It is a source of great satisfaction that dialogue on the whole range of our proposals is developing increasingly actively between the Soviet Union and Finland.

The Soviet delegation head gave President M. Koivisto details of the course of restructuring in the USSR.

The 19th All-Union Party Conference lies ahead. It will sum up the work done since the 27th CPSU Congress and, most important of all, it will examine questions of the development of democracy. It is a matter of establishing the basic contours of the reconstruction of our political system. It is also necessary to properly think through the question of improving inter-nation relations.

Restructuring has revitalized the country's public life, L.N. Zaykov went on to say, and has made the thinking of Soviet people who ardently support it bold and unorthodox. Our capital, Moscow, is of course not standing aloof from the processes which have encompassed the whole country.

M. Koivisto noted that the 40th treaty anniversary celebrations will impart new momentum to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between our neighbouring countries by strengthening friendly links between Finland and the USSR.

The conversation took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

A luncheon was then arranged on behalf of the Finnish president in honor of the Soviet delegation. Speaking at it, M. Koivisto noted that the 1948 Treaty laid a sound basis for relations of trust and good-neighborliness between our countries. Trust, he stressed, is the main trait characterizing our mutual relations. It is a great achievement which we will carefully protect.

On behalf of the Soviet delegation, L.N. Zaykov expressed sincere gratitude to M. Koivisto for his kind words about the USSR and the Soviet people. The relations between our countries are distinguished by dynamism and good-neighborliness.

We remember, Mr President, he continued, your official visit to the Soviet Union last October, your fruitful meetings with M.S. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, and your participation in the celebrations in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Now we are jointly celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

Our entire experience and the results we have achieved are convincing evidence that the treaty has demonstrated fully that it accords with the fundamental national interests of the Soviet Union and Finland and has stood the test of time. Special attention is being paid to elaborating the promising areas of our development.

We rate highly your statement, Mr President, that the line of all-around development of friendship with the Soviet Union will remain the basis of Finland's foreign policy. We wholeheartedly wish you further successes in your activity for the benefit of our peoples.

For its part, the Soviet Union, following the principles of the 1948 Treaty, will continue to display constant concern for strengthening friendly cooperation with Finland in all areas and will constantly increase the potential for trust.

This policy was bequeathed to us by the founder of the Soviet state, V.I. Lenin, who signed the Decree Recognizing Finland's State Independence. This is our party's course, the will of the entire Soviet people.

In moving bilateral cooperation along, the USSR and Finland must not become less active in the matter of strengthening world peace and averting the threat of a new war. Their coincident actions in many key areas of European and world politics are convincing evidence that different social systems cannot be a barrier when questions arise that are of vital importance for the whole of mankind.

We note with satisfaction that the public in other countries is heeding what Finland has to say about questions of war and peace.

L.N. Zaykov expressed confidence that the course of good-neighborliness and active participation in international affairs embodied in the treaty will continue to reliably serve both countries' interests and the cause of strengthening world peace. He proposed a toast to Finnish President M. Koivisto and all the Finnish friends, and to friendship and good-neighborly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Atomic Icebreaker Delivered

LD071612 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1132 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Report by N. Gorbunov and B. Grishchenko]

[Excerpts] Helsinki, 7 Apr (TASS special correspondents)—The celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance have given a new impetus to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the neighboring countries. The potential for partnership is great, and it should be used even more effectively—this is the joint view of representatives of Finnish and Soviet business circles.

The ceremony to hand over the atomic icebreaker "Taymyr" to the Soviet Union took place at the Wartsila shipyard this morning. [passage omitted]

Taking part in the handover of the icebreaker to our country was the delegation from the Soviet Union, led by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, which is in Finland on the occasion of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between our countries.

M. Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland, was present at the ceremony. The state flag of our motherland was raised over the ship as the USSR's national anthem was played. L.N. Zaykov addressed the people who were assembled.

Today, he said, we are present at a moving event, the handover to the Soviet Union of the new atomic icebreaker "Taymyr," built by Finnish shipbuilders. It is a great honor for me to be her "godfather" and to launch this ship on her difficult working life.

On the basis of the treaty of 1948, the jubilee of which is now being marked, a mechanism for political, economic, and humanitarian cooperation has been created and is functioning reliably between the USSR and Finland.

We were first in many matters and this is also the case in full measure with regard to the economy.

Friendship and good-neighborliness are not abstract concepts. They exist in specific affairs. One of them is the construction of the "Taymyr" atomic icebreaker.

This icebreaker is the substantiated joint work of Finnish and Soviet specialists, symbolizing the fruitful cooperation of our peoples.

This icebreaker is the substantiated joint work of Finnish and Soviet specialists, symbolizing the fruitful cooperation of our peoples. Longstanding and good traditions of cooperation have been established between us and the wartsila ship-building yard. For 56 years now, it has been constructing vessels for the Soviet Union. In 1932 the first small utility boats built for the Soviet Union were launched here in Helsinki. Today the important stage of building the first new type of atomic icebreaker in the world—a ship with a shallow draught that is capable of operating in conditions of almost 2 meter-thick ice and in 50 degrees of frost—has been completed.

Such is the path traversed by us together in just one field of partnership—shipbuilding. Today dozens of vessels, built in Finnish shipyards, sail the marine and ocean expanses under the Soviet flag. Ships have always been and will always be needed by people.

Naturally, the customer is always interested in the quality of the merchandise and in its reliability. One may say with complete justification: Wherever Finnish-built ships serve—in the harsh conditions of the Arctic or in warm waters—they uphold the good name of Finnish shipbuilders, their craftsmanship, and know-how.

Permit me from the bottom of my heart to thank workers, engineers, and the leadership of Wartsila for good and conscientous work. On behalf of all those present, I want to wish "Taymyr" safe sailing, and as seamen say, seven feet under the keel!

Meets Finnish Communists

LD080225 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Helsinki 7 Apr (TASS)—Lev Zaykov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, heading the Soviet delegation to the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the USSR-Finland Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, has met with leaders of the Communist Party of Finland and the Communist Party of Finland (Unity). Taking part in the meeting were, from the Communist Party of Finland: A. Aalto, chairman; A. Kemppainen, vice chairman; E. Vainionpaeae, secretary general; I. Lindeberg, member of the Secretariat. From the Communist Party of Finland (Unity) were: T. Sinisalo, chairman; Y. Hakanen and M I. Loeyttyjaervi, both vice chairmen; and J. Kajanoja, secretary general.

L. Zaykov told the Finnish Communist representatives about the work of the CPSU to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, about the processes of restructuring going on in the Soviet Union, and progress in preparing for the 19th party conference.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Finland and the Communist Party of Finland (Unity) declared their solidarity with the dynamic and constructive foreign and domestic policies of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. The Finnish comrades reported on the work of Finland's Communists in defense of the interests of the working people, for peace and strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

The common conviction was expressed that there is a need for greater expansion of contacts between the Communists of the Soviet Union and Finland in the struggle to consolidate peace and international security and to achieve the comprehensive development of relations between our countries and peoples.

V.S. Shaposhnikov, the deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and V.M. Sobolev, the USSR's ambassador in Finland, took part in the talks, which were held in a comradely atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Speaks at Treaty Celebration

PM081400 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "USSR-Finland: Formula for Collaboration"]

[Excerpts] Helsinki, 7 Apr—Finnish Prime Minister H. Holkeri held a reception yesterday to mark the 40th anniversary of the 1948 treaty. The members of the Soviet delegation attended the reception.

The white marble "Finland" Palace on the shores of the gulf was decked with the state flags of the USSR and Finland. A ceremonial meeting was held in this major public building in Helsinki in the evening, to mark the 40th anniversary of the 1948 Soviet-Finnish Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. It was attended by M. Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland.

Finnish Prime Minister H. Holkeri and the head of the Soviet delegation exchanged speeches.

Four decades ago, Finnish Prime Minister H. Holkeri said, the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union enshrined the decisive turn toward trust and cooperation that had taken place in relations between the two countries. The treaty played a very important part in the development of bilateral relations, and it will continue to serve as the basis for cooperation between the two countries.

The 1948 treaty is a fundamental interstate treaty that determines our relations with the neighboring great power, the Soviet Union, and it therefore has great significance for Finland's foreign policy as a whole. Our country's state leadership devotes exceptionally great attention to the treaty and to the cooperation with the Soviet Union that is based on it.

The treaty, the speaker went on to note, resolved the historical problem of security in Finnish-Soviet relations. As subsequent decades have shown, by its very existence the treaty ensures stability and predictability in these relations. The stability of these relations is also a positive factor from the viewpoint of the security of northern Europe and the entire European Continent.

The treaty created a basis for trust between our countries. Since one of the treaty's main aims is to direct the sides along the path of peaceful cooperation and promote economic and other contacts in the spirit of good-neighborliness, we can note that in this respect, too, the treaty long ago foreshadowed the thinking expressed in the all-European process.

With the help of the 1948 treaty, Finland settled its relations with the Soviet Union on a comprehensive basis. Relations were normalized, trust was strengthened, and cooperation developed. President J.K. Paasikivi's efforts to strengthen these relations were purposefully continued by President U.K. Kekkonen.

We attach great significance to the dialogue that has become a characteristic feature of Finnish-Soviet relations. Contacts between our countries' leaders naturally take a central place here. The head of our republic, President M. Koivisto, has visited the Soviet Union more than 10 times. During his conversations with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other representatives of the Soviet leadership, the two sides have been able to outline the theoretical and practical content of these relations. There has been continuous dialogue at other levels, too.

The 1948 treaty and other bilateral treaties and agreements created favorable soil for economic cooperation between our countries. It is hardly necessary to stress the significance that trade with the Soviet Union has had over the decades for Finland's national economy. The network of agreements created for trade and other economic cooperation covers a very broad sphere and is in good order. Joint basic guidelines were mapped out in the Long-Term Cooperation Program between the two countries through the year 2000.

There is, however, the speaker went on, a disturbing imbalance in our trade at present. The two sides must make energetic efforts now to eliminate it and to further develop trade.

People in Finland are observing attentively and with great interest the large-scale, far-reaching restructuring of the economy and foreign trade that has begun in the Soviet Union. Since Soviet economy is now experiencing a period of major changes, it clearly poses new tasks and demands, and also creates prospects for the development of trade and economic ties between our countries.

In his speech in Murmansk last October, M.S. Gorbachev proposed extending the framework of international economic cooperation to include the utilization of natural resources in northern regions of the USSR, as well as establishing large-scale cooperation in the region in the sphere of science and environmental conservation. Finland is ready to develop cooperation in all these spheres.

The cultural cooperation that takes place between our countries on a treaty basis has long traditions. We are willing to preserve this valuable cooperation and further extend its sphere.

In the last 2 years, there has been a change for the better in the international situation. First and foremost, East-West relations are stabilizing—the dialogue between the great powers continues. In the disarmament sphere, for the first time in history, they have reached agreement on

the destruction of a whole category of nuclear weapons, and the talks on strategic nuclear arms reduction are making progress. The sides have reaffirmed their readiness in principle to limit long-range sea-launched cruise missiles, too. We are convinced that it will be possible in the near future also to reach agreement in Vienna on going over to talks on reducing conventional arms in Europe.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the agreement on strategic offensive arms that is the subject of talks, an agreement on banning chemical weapons, the reduction of conventional arms—all this would undoubtedly have a positive influence on the security of Finland and the whole of northern Europe as well. For our part, we are continuing efforts toward the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk confirmed the Soviet Union's readiness for concrete measures on its territory to strengthen the nuclear-free status that exists in northern Europe. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee also proposed direct talks between the military blocs to limit military activity in the northern sea regions. We hope the blocs will find a common basis to embark on such talks.

In conclusion, H. Holkeri said: As we enter the 5th decade of the history of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union, we have a firm basis on which to build our cooperation in the future. As a natural and relevant document that retains its significance in all its provisions, the 1948 treaty will—I am sure—successfully direct the development of Finnish-Soviet relations into the remote future.

A speech was then delivered by the head of the USSR delegation, L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom. First of all, he said, I would like to express sincere gratitude for the invitation to the Soviet delegation to attend the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. We regard the very fact of this invitation and the participation of the top Finnish state leadership, headed by the president, in the celebrations as a manifestation of the Finnish people's sincere kind feelings toward our country and Soviet people.

I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, Mr President, the Finnish leadership, and the participants in the ceremonial meeting, and through you to all the industrious and talented people of the Land of Suomi, cordial greetings and congratulations on the glorious jubilee and wishes for further prosperity for our northern neighbor from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Please accept also the most sincere congratulations from all the Soviet leadership and from the peoples of the Soviet Union.

I would like to thank you, on behalf of our delegation, for the warm, friendly words spoken here today about the USSR and for the determination expressed by the Finnish leadership to continue to develop good relations with the Soviet Union on the reliable basis of the 1948 treaty.

The good relations between the Soviet Union and Finland in the most diverse spheres, including contacts between people, could, in our view, act as a prototype of mutual relations in the future "common European home." Soviet people see Finns as good friends, people who are like-minded in the pursuit of a policy aimed at building a lasting, stable peace, a world without wars or nuclear weapons.

The origins of this policy go back to the historic October 1917, when the victorious socialist revolution in Russia not only proclaimed just peace and freedom for the peoples but demonstrated in practice the sincerity of its lofty principles.

In 2 weeks' time, it will be the 118th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth. We cannot but recall today that it was the great Lenin who signed the Decree on Recognizing the State Independence of Finland.

Soviet people value highly the fact that the Finnish people, who repeatedly sheltered the leader of the October Revolution from from the sleuths of the autocracy and the Provisional Government, preserve the memory of Vladimir Ilich with respect to this day. Lenin's idea of equality and mutual respect between peoples has withstood all tests of time and confirmed its vitality and continuing significance.

Two outstanding sons of your country, Presidents J.K. Paasikivi and U.K. Kekkonen, made a great contribution to strengthening Soviet-Finnish relations. President M. Koivisto now worthily continues their noble work.

Great significance for the development of relations between the USSR and Finland is attached to the constantly deepening dialogue at the highest level. The meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders with President M. Koivisto make it possible more fully to uncover the potential of good-neighborliness and cooperation and give new impetus to further improving the whole range of Soviet-Finnish ties.

Our two countries are rightly spoken of as pioneers of new forms and avenues of cooperation and collaboration between states with different socioeconomic systems, and the 1948 treaty is spoken of as one of the first European shoots of the new political thinking. It is within our powers to do everything constantly to enrich the experience of our partnership with concrete action.

It is symbolic that this notable date in our relations is marked in spring, at the time of renewal of nature's vital forces. A similar process has now begun in the planet's political life.

Although it is still too soon to speak of radical changes, although the world today is full of contradictions, people's hope and confidence in the future are strengthening. Mankind has a common formula for survival: the renunciation of confrontation in the name of collaboration, in the name of active, equal cooperation.

The Soviet Union is in favor of dialogue, talks, and the constructive resolution of the most complex international problems.

We are realists. We build our policy on the realities of our country and the realities of the whole world, and we build it; we do not merely discuss it. It is from these realities that the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles flows.

Its ratification—and we hope it will take place before the announced visit of the U.S. President to the USSR—will be an important step in political and military terms, although only 3-4 percent of nuclear weapons will be subject to elimination.

As for the Soviet Union, it has already taken important steps toward a nuclear-free world: Even before the coming into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the withdrawal of operational-tactical missiles from the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia has been completed.

As you know, intensive work is now under way to prepare an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms on the condition of compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. This indicates that the Soviet Union and the United States, given the political will, can find a common language in resolving exceptionally complex problems that have been regarded as deadlocked for many years.

The Soviet Union supports Finland's proposals aimed at strengthening trust and reducing military activeness in the north. These initiatives are particularly important now that there is what one might call an unhealthy interest in this region, which is strategically advantageous for the implementation of the "forward borders" concept and for so-called "compensation" for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles eliminated under the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

Our program of action in this direction was set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk last October. I believe it is well known in Finland. For its part, the Soviet Union is prepared to discuss any alternative ideas and proposals concerning the substance of the problem of radically reducing the level of military confrontation in the north.

In the countries of northern Europe, there has recently been much talk of creating a nuclear-free zone in the region. The USSR supports this idea, which was born on Finland's initiative, and is understanding about the peoples' desire to make their contribution to eliminating the nuclear danger and to the cause of strengthening trust and lessening military tension.

I must say that this problem touches on important security interests of ours. But our country is prepared to accept concrete measures in this area, too: It is prepared to stand as guarantor for such a zone and take other steps that Soviet leaders have spoken of repeatedly.

This means that interstate relations, especially where neighboring countries are concerned, cannot be built without mutually advantageous cooperation in all vitally important spheres: science and the economy, trade and culture.

In this sense, Soviet-Finnish cooperation, following the course defined by the 1948 treaty, is a true example of harmonious joint work—irrespective of the differences between our social systems. Suffice it to say that in the last 20 years, trade between the two countries has increased almost 10-fold.

It should be noted that the Soviet and Finnish sides are equally interested in securing more reliable prospects for our economic relations.

Our party's aim is to ensure that a fundamentally new standard of living is attained for the people. This task can be resolved in only one way: by drastically stepping up work in all areas.

We are well aware that restructuring is a complex process. But we are confident of success because it has become the cherished cause of all the Soviet people.

Our meeting is taking place in the "Finland" Palace, which has gone down forever in the history of the continent and of all mankind. It was here on 1 August 1975 that the Final Act of the All-European Conference was ceremonially sealed with signatures.

That document, oriented toward the future, was a major milestone along the path to strengthening security and cooperation in Europe, an example for the peoples of all continents. So let us follow its spirit and its noble principles for the sake of peace on earth. [passage omitted]

Today Finnish Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister K. Sorsa gave a luncheon in honor of the Soviet delegation.

Present at the Finnish prime minister's "Kesaeranta" residence were prominent representatives of the neighboring country's business circles and leaders of the Finnish section of the Soviet-Finnish intergovernmental standing commission on economic cooperation.

Addressing the head of the Soviet delegation, K. Sorsa noted that the turning point in Finnish-Soviet relations that came more than 4 decades ago was of historic significance. The development that began then in the direction of trust and cooperation received concrete confirmation in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between our countries, whose 40th anniversary we are now marking.

Trade exchange and other economic cooperation hold a very important place in Finnish-Soviet relations. The large-scale economic restructuring that has begun in the Soviet Union is giving new impetus to the further development of trade and economic ties. Among the most significant changes in the Soviet Union are the transition to direct foreign trade contacts in certain spheres of production, and the creation of joint enterprises on Soviet territory which has become possible.

The foundations of Soviet-Finnish relations created by the 1948 treaty are firm. On this basis, valuable experience has been accumulated in the development of links between our countries over the last 4 decades. On the basis of these foundations and experience, seeking answers to the tasks set by the time, and putting them into practice, we can—I am sure—ensure the further development of our cooperation at a high level.

L.N. Zaykov then spoke.

In the 40 years of the 1948 treaty's operation, he said, our countries have accumulated a valuable capital of friendship, trust, and mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres of interstate intercourse. I would particularly like to single out the economic sphere.

The durability and reliability of the material basis of our good-neighborliness—trade and economic cooperation—is of paramount significance for the full range of Soviet-Finnish relations. We have established good traditions in this sphere.

In the last 20 years, we have not only increased trade turnover between our countries more than 10-fold, but also pioneered in many matters that have favorably influenced the formation of the entire mechanism of East-West relations.

When business people meet, they like to have a concrete discussion. I would like to draw your attention to the program we have drawn up for accelerating the economic and social development of Murmansk Oblast, including the exploitation and recovery of the mineral resources of the Kola Peninsula. I hope you will respond positively to our proposal to think about creating a joint consortium with northern or other countries for cooperation in this region. I think it would be right for Finland to take a prominent place in the implementation of this project, the scale of which could be vast, extending beyond our millenium.

For our part, we expext an expansion of participation by Soviet organizations in the construction in Finland of projects in the power industry, ferrous metallurgy, environmental conservation, gas pipelines, and natural gas processing enterprises. As you will understand, the tasks facing us are large-scale and complex. But we are confident that they are feasible. [passage omitted]

Leaves Finland for Home

LD081539 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Turku April 8 TASS—A Soviet delegation headed by Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Committee, left for home today. It stayed in Finland in connection withthe 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

The delegation was seen off by the Prime Minister of Finland H. Holkeri and other officials. The send off party included the Soviet Ambassador in Finland V. Sobolev.

Soviet, Norwegian Legislators Confer in Moscow

PM071343 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparliamentary Ties"]

[Text] It is impossible in our interconnected world to achieve security at another's expense. Lasting peace can only be secured by concerted efforts on the part of all countries—large and small—goodwill, and statesmanship. This was noted during a conversation held on 6 April between USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and a delegation of the Norwegian Storting's Foreign Policy and Constitutional Committee. The guests, headed by K. Willoch, the committee's chairman, visited our country at the invitation of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The participants in the conversation stressed that today the armed forces' role in solving political issues has diminished. On the other hand, the present pace of the arms race is having a pernicious influence on the economic position of developed and developing countries alike, diverting enormous material resources that could be used for mankind's benefit. Given the position the modern world finds itself in there is an extreme need for the implementation of the new political thinking, the

abandoning of out-moded dogmas, and the reexamination of the military doctrines of confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO military blocs.

K. Willoch said that the conclusion of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Europe and the Soviet Union's unilateral moves to implement the treaty were received with great satisfaction in Norway. However, he did repeat the thesis current in the West according to which the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries have superiority in conventional arms. The Soviet side gave a detailed explanation on this question and convincingly showed that there exists rough parity in conventional arms between East and West.

The participants in the conversation also touched on questions relating to the creation of nuclear-free zones in north Europe and bilateral cooperation in humanitarian spheres.

The following took part in the conversation: S.V. Chervonenko, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission; G.A. Arbatov, I.D. Laptev, R.Z. Sagdeyev, and Ye.I. Pervent-sev, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet; other officials; and also O. Bucher Johannessen, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR.

Ilichev Holds Talks With Cypriot Ambassador

LD081053 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 8 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Leonid Ilichev has received the Ambassador of the Republic of Cyprus to the Soviet Union, Mikhail e. Sierifis. During the conversation, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding characteristic of the two countries, they exchanged views on some international issues. Special attention was paid to the growing role of the nonaligned movement in tackling topical problems.

Latin America & Caribbean

Kobysh Criticizes U.S. Actions Toward Panama

PM081039 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Kobysh "Political Observer's Opinion": "The United States and Panama: And This Is Civilized Behavior?"]

[Excerpts] First, some brief geographical information (after all, people do not know very much about small countries): We are talking about a state on the Panama isthmus in Central America with an area of 77,000 square kilometers and a population of less than 2.5 million. The well-known image from the Bible—Goliath against David—is a most apt parallel for the present confrontation between the United States and Panama.

One of the latest issues of the American weekly NEWSWEEK described the situation as follows: "The shadow of Teddy Roosevelt lay over Panama last week. But instead of the big stick policy... the Reagan administration has resorted to big dollar diplomacy to oust General Manuel Antonio Noriega." [passage omitted]

We will not now detail the upheavals of the very serious political and socioeconomic struggle being waged in Panama. We also have no intention of citing arguments "for" or "against" (we have no such arguments) the idea that Gen Noriega was recruited by the CIA, has got rich through the drug trafficking business, and has accepted millions in bribes. These subjects the U.S. mass media—and others—have discussed with great zeal recently. But we do feel compelled to express an opinion on the fact that the U.S. Senate approved a resolution on 25 March this year demanding Gen Noriega's removal from power on the basis of accusations made against him concerning drug trafficking (without trial in Panama).

What is happening here? Following this kind of logic, Panama's Legislative Assembly could, for example, in connection with the "Iran-contra" affair, in which the national security adviser to the U.S. President was directly involved, demand the resignation of the head of the U.S. Administration with equal justification: He should carry the responsibility. How would this be received in Washington? Or is the logic and also the interpretation of articles of international law in matters concerning such small countries as Panama determined by the combat might of the U.S. 82d Airborne Assault Division?

Of one thing there is no mistake. Washington has declared war on Gen Noriega. It is a war without any rules, in which it will stop at nothing. Another conspiracy was staged recently. The officers involved had been trained in the United States and, when the plot failed, found refuge likewise in the United States.

Economic aggression from its northern neighbor has proved far more serious and dangerous for Panama than any conspiracy. All of the country's bank assets, including payment for leasing the canal, have been frozen. Employees have found themselves without any wages and all working people without their daily bread. As was once the case in Chile, stirred up by Washington and the local right wing, the middle class—that is, small proprietors and retailers—are going out into the streets and banging empty saucepans, demanding not only the government's resignation but also the arrival of U.S. paratroopers. The fact that workers who have nothing to eat have also begun to follow suit is worse and even more dangerous.

A bitter political and psychological battle is being waged against Panama. The ways in which it is being waged were described by Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Abadia Arias when addressing a session of the OAS

General Assembly at the end of last year (it was held in Washington). All the controlled mass media, the minister said, have been instructed to:

Blacken the reputation of the Panamanian leaders by accusing them of crimes which would shake the public;

Portray every member of the military as cruel and corrupt;

Depict members of the government as a band of robbers;

Accuse them of having links with the international mafia and international communism.

For 3 years now, not just Noriega—when it comes down to it, he is not really the issue—but Panama has been branded, defamed, and slandered.

But even this is not the end of it. Panama and its neighbors are being intimidated by military strength. A total of 3,000 American commandos have been urgently transferred to Honduras and another 1,000 have been sent to back up the 10,000 servicemen already stationed at U.S. military bases in Panama—here, in the region of the Panama Canal. They immediately began to carry out intimidating military maneuvers.

Is this the civilized behavior in international relations the need for which is now inevitably discussed at all international forums? It seems that Washington only applies this kind of behavior to those who are strong and in a position to counter one blow with a blow of their own. It is still a fact that in its relations with countries which are not yet strong, which have yet to get onto their feet, and in regional conflicts in general, U.S. policy has undergone no fundamental change despite all the changes happening in the rest of the world and is still based on one thing—brute force.

Latin American countries, including their ruling circles, are now clearly aware that what is happening with the United States and the Central American republics and Panama today could happen to them tomorrow. The United States can no longer count on the support of Latin America, or hardly any of the countries in it, with the exception, perhaps, of Chile, Paraguay, or Haiti. This goes some way to explaining why Washington will certainly not venture to repeat the Chile scenario in Panama or win a glorious victory, as in Grenada. Not only the Latin American states are displaying solidarity with Central America and Panama. Europe, and France and Spain in particular, are following the U.S. actions with great disapproval, to put it mildly, of which Washington is well aware.

So what will happen with Panama? Will the U.S. authorities carry things through to the point which has always seemed to them to be the logical and only possible outcome? I will not venture to answer this question because I do not know exactly how civilized Washington's behavior now is.

Mexican Official in Moscow for Consultations

PM081053 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] Soviet-Mexican consultations on a broad range of international problems of mutual interest were held in Moscow on 31 March-1 April. Victor Flores Olea, Mexican deputy foreign minister, took part in the exchange of opinions on the Mexican side. He was received by V.G. Komplektov and V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign ministers, and had thorough conversations in a number of the ministry's directorates and departments.

USSR, Dominican Republic Exchange Greetings

PM081025 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent J. Balaguer, president of the Dominican Republic, a congratulatory telegram wishing the Dominican people peace and prosperity on the country's national holiday—the 144th anniversary of its declaration of independence. In his reply telegram, the president expressed gratitude for the warm congratulations.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Continues Visit to Tashkent

Visits 'Karl Marx' Kolkhoz

LD071357 Moscow TASS in English 1342 GMT 7 Apr 88

[Text] Tashkent April 7 TASS—Today Mikhail Gorbachev general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited a big suburban agricultural cooperative named after Karl Marx.

The cooperative offers 25 types of vegetables, fruit, hothouse citrus fruits, and other orchard-and-vegetable garden products to the residents of Tashkent, and also sends them out to the Far East, the extreme north, and Siberia. Two retail outlets of the cooperative operate at full capacity in the centre of Tashkent.

In recent years the growing city advanced on the plantations of the cooperative. The area of plantations has shrunk by one third but the output of products has almost doubled over the same period. This achievement is associated here with the switch-over to new forms of economic management.

Almost the entire land in the cooperative has been turned over to family teams with which a contract for the sale of a certain amount of products was concluded. If a peasant family succeeds in growing and selling a greater amount of products, its earnings rise steeply.

The work in the new way has resulted in a marked rise in the peasants' incomes. At the same time the profits of the entire cooperative sharply increased, too. As a result, it has been able to allocate more funds for the construction of housing and for improvement of medical and welfare services.

"The government decisions of recent years have given scope to the peasants' initiative," Rustiam Akbarov, chairman of the cooperative's board, has told a TASS correspondent. "Many restrictive regulations have been cancelled, and we got the right to sell up to 30 per cent of harvest on the market at contract prices. Such stimuli have had a good effect, which could not be said about orders and instructions which we were literally showered with previously 'from above'."

More than two thousand cooperative and state-run rural farms of Uzbekistan now operate in the new way: They use the family contract, and strive to till land through the efforts of small collectives, and enhance peasants' interest in the results of work. Such a system of the organization of labour effects a considerable increment in the output of farm products without additional expenses.

Announces Afghan Settlement

LD072222 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This afternoon Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited two suburban kolkhozes in Tashkent Oblast. The first stop was a field where one of the teams of the Karl Marx Kolkhoz farm was at work. [video shows Gorbachev's motorcade stopping among fields. Gorbachev and Raisa are shown being introduced to a group of people and shaking hands with them. Gorbachev is then shown conversing with the workers]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] We have just had a meeting with Comrade Najib.

[Farm worker] Of Afghanistan?

[Gorbachev] Yes, of Afghanistan. Well, the process of a political settlement regarding Afghanistan is now coming to an end. There is now the hope—and I now say this with, I would say, confidence—the hope of signing an agreement on a political settlement. I think that Pakistan and Afghanistan will nevertheless reach agreement, and I believe that we will reach agreement with the Americans as guarantors. A great thing will have been achieved. It is indeed time to conclude this conflict.

[Unidentified man] For a long time now it has been time.

[Gobachev] The conflict has become protracted. The country is in need of peace. And all of us know what a misfortune this is, don't we? We also feel this deeply. For that reason we have just had our talk and have been discussing the very last outstanding questions and, as it were, untying the knots. I believe that our talk was very important and indeed very practical. I hope that an agreement will be signed.

[Unidentified man] Many thanks to you with regard to the missiles. You know, when we saw you conversing there in Washington with Reagan, we simply sat there on the edge of our seats. It is true. Now with regard to Afghanistan, this is also indeed a vital question. The world and all the people are in your hands, and God forbid that things go askew, otherwise they will fall and no one will withstand the fall. For this reason it is necessary to keep the balance. Thank you very much in this regard.

[Gorbachev] The Soviet Government understands its responsibility and is aware that our people want us to act so that affairs improve inside our country, and also so that peace is strengthened. Therefore we have it in mind so that it is better inside our country and it is better in the world. Indeed it must be said that there has been a great response to our domestic and foreign policies in all countries. There has been a great response. People, all ordinary working people, want to live in tranquility.

[Unidentified man] Yes, of course.

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Unidentified man] By our work we are of course...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] So there are no differences between us, eh? [laughter from crowd]

[Unidentified man] There should not be any.

[Gorbachev] Well, OK, what minor problems you have you keep to yourself.

[Unidentified man] Yes, of course, we will solve them ourselves in the course of our work.

[Gorbachev] Or throw them on to Comrade Nishanov. [laughter] He has only just got down to business. He has plenty to do.

[Unidentified man] Success to our first secretary!

[Gorbachev] What I will say in your presence here—and I must express not only my own opinion but an opinion on behalf of the Central Committee Politburo and of our Soviet Government—is that we have together with you been through the misfortunes that came about at a certain stage in the development of Uzbekistan's development. It is a large republic and an ancient people with an ancient culture, a people that have achieved their present life by suffering and have done a great deal to see that this territory is habitable and is transformed into such a modern territory. The people are industrious and modest. I know the people of Uzbekistan. I've visited nearly all the oblasts, or I've passed through them. I've been to Tashkent. I've been to Bukhara. I've been to Samarkand. I've been to Navoi, Zarafshan, Namangan, Fergana, Andizhan. The people are industrious, modest—that's the main thing—devoted to this land, devoted to Soviet power. And see what internationalism was displayed by the Uzbek people during the war, how many cares they shouldered and children they sheltered then, at such an evil time.

So I'll tell you bluntly: neither in Moscow nor among our people was there any manifestation of a disrespectful attitude toward Uzbekistan even in those hard times. It is known, all the same, that the people are not to blame.

[Unseen man] Yes.

[Gorbachev] I'll even say to you, to some extent—I think you need to be told—certain groups of individuals have cast suspicion on the people.

[Unseen man] [Words indistinct] yes.

[Gorbachev] Let them answer. Let them answer for what they've done. As for the people, it's a good thing that today people are in the mood to work, do things, improve the land and tackle new tasks.

[Unseen man] Yes.

[Gorbachev] That is good. Moreover, see how the republic is developing and growing, and its productive capacity is developing, but, admittedly, tomorrow we'll be saying that more work has to be done. [laughter] [Words indistinct].

[Unseen man] We're able to do it!

[Gorbachev] But both the people and the republic, after all, are young. I was told today that in the republic 45 percent of the population are aged 16 or under, and, if we go up to 30, as we usually reckon it, then we probably get a full 80 percent [words indistinct].

[Unseen man] That's what you'd get.

[Gorbachev] The republic is young.

[Unseen man] They're all young people standing in front of you.

[Gorbachev] Very good. You know, I also like the fact that there is now taking place a certain strengthening of the Uzbek family already on a new basis, along new, socialist lines, although here the young people still have to express their own opinion. In family relationships there still remain survivals from the past, which lead to a situation in which girls, women, and the family as well suffer. Society too suffers. But here, probably, the men have their part to play, so that when we talk, everyone says that this has to be resisted, then they go home.

[Unseen man] And they're at it again! [laughter]

[Gorbachev] They're laughing! [speaking to man in the crowd] What sort of family have you got?

[Unidentified man] We're all fine.

[Gorbachev] But what size is the family? [video shows the person next to the man saying something]

[Unidentified man] Oh, five already.

[Gorbachev] Five?

[Unidentified man] Five already. [widespread laughter]

[Gorbachev] You haven't finished yet?

[Unseen man] He's still working on it! [Words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Two children already work with you?

[Unidentified man] Yes, with you. [video shows someone saying something to him] With me. They work with me.

[Gorbachev] That's good. Good. I have one question to put to young people, to those in middle age and to veterans. Is everything clear as far as our policy of restructuring is concerned? Is it needed?

[People] The policy is right. It is needed, it is needed very much.

[Gorbachev] We need it.

[Unidentified man] In the past, for instance, we would only fulfill the plan and spared no thought for anything. We'd fulfill the cabbage plan, or the onion plan, and then we'd congratulate ourselves and put our feet up. Now our concern is always to provide these things for people, without interruptions, all the year round.

[Gorbachev] You have touched on a good theme there concerning the kolkhoz and its output. The significance of restructuring is that everywhere everything should be for people. Production should be for people; output and goods should be for people. In the construction industry housing should be for people. If you take the soviets, the work of the soviets, the main thing there should be concern for people, and not the whims of bureaucrats, you see.

[Unidentified man] Quite so!

[Gorbachev] And it's the same with everything. In the newspapers, the main thing they should write about is people, how they live, what the good things and the bad things are. And everywhere people should be the most important thing.

[Unidentified man] I found things very pleasant at the congress. I sat in the front row, then the fourth. We all found it very nice, everything was objective, you understand. And there was a business-like discussion, exactly what the farm chairman had in mind.

[Gorbachev] So you went to the kolkhozes congress?

[Unidentified man] Yes, I did. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] Did you agree with everything I said?

[Unidentified man] If I had not agreed, we wouldn't have started this work last year. We had already begun things, the way you said [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev, turning to some young men in the crowd] And are you lads of the same opinion about restructuring?

[Unidentified young man] I suppose, now yes. In general, yes. But it must all be properly adhered to.

[Gorbachev] I see that the chairman of your kolkhoz is so close to the people. That's the important thing. But when that is broken, and there's a gulf between the team leader and his team, or between the management of the kolkhoz or sovkhoz and the working people, that's bad. Nothing will go well, nothing will go well. There are so many young people in Uzbekistan, aren't there? At every encounter!

[Raisa] And children!

[Gorbachev] Children and young people. Attractive, attractive. [general laughter]

[Unseen man] Future cotton-pickers!

[A second man] But we're having a bad time with the cotton.

[Gorbachev] Never mind, it'll be OK. I think it will be OK now. I think you've got it sorted out now. Everything will be all right. There will be better order in Uzbekistan, both in production and in other affairs. Everything's going to be fine.

Do you know what has happened, generally speaking? In Uzbekistan, up to 85 percent of the land was being planted with cotton. So there was no alfalfa, and that means fodder, and milk, and so forth. And because there was no alternation of land use, just cotton, even the cotton began to be diseased, yields began to drop, its quality began to suffer, and many things were violated, many things. In the second place, you rightly say, well, surely it isn't a normal situation when Uzbekistan is having to import food products, confectionary, almost, from other places ah? I'll tell them that at the meeting tomorrow. [laughter] You want me to tell them, yes? And you know, you tell them,too! Put some pressure on the bosses! [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa chatting to the crowd; Raisa hands Gorbahcev a bouquet which a woman has given her; and strokes him on the shoulder. He takes flowers and is shown speaking to the woman]

[Unidentified man] My mother told me to ask this question. We have 10 children. And people ask my mother: Do you eat? And she says: Why wouldn't I? We have enough. Some people are surprised that we have 10 children. [laughs]

[Gorbachev] Well, it's a kindergarten. [general laughter]

[Unidentified man] They're all paired: five sons and five daughters! [general laughter] [end recording]

Discusses Family Contracting

LD072128 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the village of the Lenin's Path Kolkhoz [in Tashkent Oblast] Mikhail Sergeyevich asked permission to enter one of the houses that caught his eye. It turned out that this was the home of the Isabayevs, who are kolkhoz workers. It is a comfortable home, like most of the houses here on the farm, where the yield per hectare exceeds R10,000 per annum. [video shows view from car traveling along country road, people lining the street in a village. Mr and Mrs Gorbachev approach a house. A woman leads the way in]

[Begin recording] [Woman] Sit down!

[Raisa] Thank you, thank you.

[Gorbachev] You know, if we sit down we shan't get up again! [general laughter] [Words indistinct]. [video shows Shevardnadze and Nishanov with the group in the house]

[Nishanov] (?They) work at the hot-house and they invite you to come and visit their hothouse. It's very near to here. [video shows Raisa, Gorbachev, and party entering a hothouse. Nishanov and Shevardnadze are visible]

[Gorbachev] Oh, (?we know them, they're good people to have in charge). [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa shaking hands with several farm workers] Hello there, come over here. Does the family work here, or not, or is it the neighbors?

[Woman] We're on family contracting here.

[Gorbachev] Family contracting, I see. What is your yield per square meter?

[Woman] We ought to get 12 kg per square meter under the plan.

[Gorbachev] That's the plan, is it?

[Woman] Yes, and our pledge is 15 kg.

[Gorbachev] That's good.

[Woman] And what we actually get is 20, and more, and more.... [laughter]

[Gorbachev, laughing] And I just wanted to criticize you. I wanted to say you ought to achieve 21 kg.

[Woman] It was our decision for this year. Thank you for coming here. We will probably get as much as 25 kg. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] That's good. [video shows basket of cucumbers] You know why I like family contracting? You don't need an accountant; that's obvious. You don't need to go around talking to people and telling them what to do. A member of the family can be given a good lecture when he gets home. So of course a family has commitment. So we support this, we support this very much. And there's another thing that's good about it: parents and children work together.

[Woman] They work together.

[Gorbachev] Everyone works together. And that's even better, isn't it? It's very good like that.

[Woman] The pay's also good. Our pay's very good. With family contracting, we find things are better. Take some, try them. They're tasty.

[Gorbachev] I've come to spread the word about family contracting among you, but you're already on the contracting system.

[Gorbachev] So this is a peach tree flowering so beautifully? [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa with crowd in street]

[Crowd] Yes, it's a peach tree.

[Gorbachev] I didn't know. I've never seen a flowering peach tree before. [video shows blossom on tree] Frankly speaking, what always makes me happiest is the people's mood. That's because you know the way things are: today there is something, and tomorrow something won't be available. Then it appears, and something else is unavailable. That's life, that is the way things will always be. And the country has problems too. But when people are in a good mood, the problems will be surmounted, they will be surmounted.

[Crowd] The people's mood is good.

[Gorbachev] So you've slowly been taking restructuring to heart, have you?

[Crowd] Yes. [video shows woman bringing bread on a tray]

[Raisa, to woman] Come this way. [video shows her turning to Gorbachev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, look!

[Gorbachev, picking up bread] They're still hot.

[Unidentified man] They're fresh from the clay oven.

[Gorbachev, waving bread] We'll have this one to take away. [general laughter] [end recording]

Visits Uzbek Lenin Monument

LD080451 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is spending his 3d day on Uzbek soil. Here is our correspondent Erkin Rakhimov from Tashkent:

[Rakhimov] Each of these 3 days has been packed with moving, and I would say unforgettable, events. Yesterday, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Najibullah signed a joint Soviet-Afghan statement, the significance of which is simply difficult to overestimate. Mikhail Sergeyevich visited a kolkhoz and met some rural workers. Those conversations will long remain in people's memories; they were sincere, and at the same time concrete and business-like.

Today began with the laying of a wreath at the foot of the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Together with Comrade Gorbachev on the Avenue of Parades, where the majestic monument is situated, were Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR; Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; and other officials.

Today's schedule includes a visit to the Algoritm Production Association, one of the republic's modern and advanced enterprises. Also today, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will have a meeting in Tashkent with the republic's party economic aktiv. The discussion will be a serious one, and this is understandable, because over the past few years the republic has fallen behind dramatically, especially in the development of cotton farming. Emergency steps are now being taken to put an end to the negative phenomena of the past. Particular attention is being devoted to the problem of managing agriculture in a rational and scientific manner, especially regarding cotton farming. Cotton farming in the republic should be developed on an intensive basis by raising the soil's fertility and by wide application of mechanization. There are also many unresolved problems in the production of fruit and vegetables. After all, it really is not good enough—and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was right to criticize the republic for this yesterday during his meeting with collective farm workers—for Uzbekistan to import food, and even confectionary, from outside.

Radio listeners will find out more details about the work of the republic conference with the participation of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev from our evening bulletins.

Addresses Uzbek Party Leaders

LD081138 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 8 Apr 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Speaking about life in the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the policy of restructuring has no alternative because the potentials of socialism cannot be displayed fully without a sweeping renovation of society. It's been the necessity to get rid of all notions and methods of everything that held back the creative abilities of the people. The Soviet leader underlined that the ideas of restructuring can be implemented only through the development of democracy. It was through democratization, openness, and a radical economic reform that the people were awakened. The decisive stage of the struggle for the success of restructuring has begun. Today, when changes affect the interests of the people and of the labor staffs, debates have started on an unprecedented scale. Every person wants to understand what is going on and find his place in restructuring or to say what he disagrees with. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the primary importance of the social problems which are now being coped with in the process of restructuring.

Strategic problems, he said, require a lengthy period of time, but already now much is done to improve the lives of the people. Health service and education are being reformed and the food and housing problems are being solved.

Ligachev Attends Cultural Equipment Exhibition

PM071527 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Apr 88 p 2

[TASS report: "Modern Equipment for Cultural Establishments"]

[Excerpts] The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum examined questions of ideological support for the policy of restructuring and the education and training of the rising generation and all working people. Measures are being implemented in the country to strengthen and develop the material base of culture and art, the "residue principle" in the sociocultural sphere is being overcome, and there is extensive construction of cultural projects.

On 2 April Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited an exhibition of equipment and technical devices for theaters, clubs, libraries, and other cultural establishments organized in the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA pavilion at the USSR National Economic Achievements Exhibition. [passage omitted]

A conference was addressed by V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; Yu.S. Melentyev, RSFSR minister of culture; V.P. Morozov, USSR first deputy minister of the automotive industry; Z.K. Pervyshin, USSR minister of the communications equipment industry; and A.I. Volskiy, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Machine Building Department.

Ye.K. Ligachev pointed out that planning organs and ministries, above all, must change their attitude toward equipping cultural and art establishments as something secondary. It is a serious matter and is directly linked with Soviet people's vital interests, their spiritual development, and the organization of leisure. It is necessary to set up modern production of high-quality equipment for cultural and art establishments and tackle the retooling of enterprises which produce it. Creative organizations should be involved in developing and accepting tools and equipment.

Participating in the exhibition visit and the discussion of questions were O.S. Belyakov, L.F. Bobykin, A.G. Melnikov, and Yu.A. Sklyarov, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; Ye.V. Zaytsev and A.V. Skripnikov, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Ye.M. Chekharin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Gossnab.

Further Reportage on Armenia, Azerbaijan

Armenian Bureau Meets 20 Mar

PM071131 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 23 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 20 March the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined urgent measures to normalize the situation in the republic. It was pointed out that, despite the work done by gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations to fulfill the guidelines contained in the appeal of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and the decisions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, the situation in the republic remains tense and dangerously explosive. The "Karabakh" committee resorts to threats and blackmail, attacks party and soviet organs, and exceeds the bounds of legality. The rally announced for 26 March this year in Yerevan City could exacerbate the situation and have unpredictable consequences. The situation is being complicated in many ways in connection with the tragic events which occurred in Sumgait City. Some 595 families—a total of 2,364 people—have now been registered as having arrived from Sumgait and other population centers in Azerbaijan. As a result of various provocative rumors and fabrications which are being disseminated, persons of Azerbaijani nationality are continuing to leave the republic.

Party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations of enterprises, establishments, departments, and educational institutions are failing to act sufficiently persistently and consistently in the present situation.

Pointing out that the work being done by party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs has not ensured the full realization of the guidelines contained in M.S. Gorbachev's appeal, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau entrusted party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations with taking the necessary measures to prevent rallies on 26 March 1988. Consistent, persistent explanatory and organizational work is to be carried out in labor collectives, and it is to be ensured that every worker, kolkhoz member, specialist, creative worker, and student profoundly understands the entire gravity of the consequences of the present situation.

Party committees are entrusted with enhancing exactingness toward party members, their responsibility for the state of the moral and psychological atmosphere in labor collectives, and principledness in assessing the incorrect actions of individual Communists who are insincere and duplicitous in their conduct. The efforts of primary party organizations are to be directed toward neutralizing the activity of the "committees" on Nagorno-Karabakh, with due regard for the fact that it is now of a politically harmful nature and is against the people's interests.

Party gorkoms and raykoms, soviet ispolkoms, and law-enforcement organs must take effective measures everywhere to ensure proper public order and prevent any negative manifestations.

Armenian Party's Tasks Viewed

PM071535 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 23 Mar 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Party Organizations' Important Task"]

[Text] We live in complex times. The party policy of restructuring has awakened deep-seated moral forces in the people and created real conditions for a broad display of initiative and a thrifty approach to work. But, at the same time, and this must be frankly admitted, our complex times have aroused in certain people an enthusiasm for rallies and the confidence that complex problems which have accumulated over the years can be surmounted at a stroke, with one or two demonstrations, with slogans that are a bit louder. This is graphically confirmed by the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

Emotions and lack of mental calm are, in general, understandable things. But we must not forget historical experience and the foundations of the dialectics of social development. These teach that serious questions which affect everyone, particularly in such a delicate sphere as interethnic relations, must be resolved from positions of reason, of sober, considered analysis, and high political

culture. Party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms must today convey this important social conclusion to every working person in the republic.

The party does not hide the fact that many "obstacles," exacerbated by the period of the "cult of personality" and by years of stagnation, have accumulated on the path of the development of national relations. They must be resolved not in an atmosphere of elemental forces and emotions but in a calm and businesslike manner, within the framework of the democratic process and legality, not allowing the slightest harm to our peoples' internationalist cohesion. It is planned to devote a CPSU Central Committee plenum specially to the development of national relations, comprehensively discuss a wide range of questions in this very important social sphere, and, on the basis of the principled gains of Lenin's nationalities policy, outline ways to specifically resolve social, economic, cultural, and other problems.

The problems of Nagorno-Karabakh have not been disregarded either. As reported at the recent conference at the CPSU Central Committee, by decision of the Politburo the Central Committee Secretariat has been entrusted with organizing an in-depth and comprehensive study of the problems which have accumulated in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the reasons for the exacerbation of interethnic relations around it, drawing up appropriate proposals, and, as they are ready, submitting them for examination to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government.

The chief thing on which the efforts of the republic's party organizations, Communists, and ideological aktiv must be concentrated today is to convince every labor collective and every working person that the hour of reason and sober decisions has come and that any hasty conclusions and statements will only harm the cause.

Nothing good can come of thoughtless actions, the substitution of disinformation for the truth, and the spreading of rumors unconfirmed by anything but emotions. The firm stance of Communists, their political maturity, and their clear understanding of the essence of true internationalism must be a "beacon" for their associates. Life shows that where people have realized this, where party committees and primary party organizations have countered rumors with the truth, where attention is given to people not in words but in deeds, and where concern is shown for satisfying their needs and developing their initiative and abilities, there is a working situation and any chance delusion is at once dispelled.

This was the case, for example, on Gugarkskiy Rayon's Shaumyan Sovkhoz. Several people of Azerbaijani nationality yielded to rumors and left for Kazakh. But the normal situation in the village, great explanatory work, and the friendly attitude of the indigenous Armenian population toward the Azerbaijani fellow villagers quickly helped to reverse that decision. Those who had left returned to their homes and began working. Together with their fellow villagers they are preparing for sowing and laying the foundations of a big harvest.

The inhabitants of the village of Privolnoye in Kalininskiy Rayon—Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, and Kurds—are also linked by strong, indissoluble bonds of friendship. They are nourished by simple peasant wisdom: Together to safeguard and augment the motherland's riches, together to share bread and water, together to raise children. New approaches to the organization of labor and production nowadays have imparted effective substance to these traditions. The Communists' consistent policy of asserting an atmosphere of glasnost, democracy, and collective principles of management in the economy will help to enhance mutual responsibility and to ensure that trust in one another becomes still stronger.

The discussion of M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal in party and public organizations and labor collectives has become a lesson of truth, a lesson of broad public education. The goal has been set of working more vigorously, making up for lost time, and using all means of political work to ensure that ideological, moral, and international education becomes the party affair of every Communist and the patriotic duty of every citizen. But let us be frank. In a number of places people have not dispensed with overregimentation and the desire to report a little more loudly on a "measure" implemented. There have been attempts to "run ahead" and impose a specific deadline for resolving the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. These facts must not be ignored, and party organizations must make a principled assessment of them and draw serious conclusions from them. It is necessary to learn to conduct the masses' political education actively and assertively, relying not so much on loud slogans and appeals as on specific actions and a really profound and all-embracing system of measures which visibly and really assert the principles of fraternity and goodness.

We absorb internationalism with our mother's milk—this is said of you and me. But it would be flippant to hope only that everyone is surrounded from his first steps in life by an atmosphere of love, light, and general human unity. Socialist relations do not automatically remove survivals from the past stemming from age-old feuds and delusions. Each new generation needs the serious fostering of international consciousness and collectivist principles. When this is forgotten, distortions are possible.

The activity of the committee on Nagorno-Karabakh in labor collectives leads to distortions—serious distortions. Nothing good can come of the committee members' desire to fuel the situation in every possible way and to maintain tension in Yerevan and the republic as a whole. In many of its manifestations it transcends the bounds of what is permitted and of legality, assuming a politically harmful nature. At times the normal economic process in the republic is violated, and lessons in

technical colleges and VUZ's are disrupted. The committee members include people who have arrogated the right to dictate demands to cadres and collectives and to decide who is a true patriot and who is not.

Why has such a thing become possible? Because party organizations in a number of places have evaded a lively, direct dialogue with people, do not make a principled assessment of thoughtless actions, and display formalism in ideological activity, particularly in educating the young generation. A lofty role in daily purposeful work with people belongs to the republic's lecturers, propagandists, celebrities, war and labor veterans, and the creative intelligentsia—precisely they can use their authority, competent analysis, and personal behavior to help their associates to avoid immature actions and take the right path.

Tasks of international education must be resolved in close connection with the concerns that the country has in accelerating the process of democratization and implementing the radical economic reform. Strict fulfillment of contracts for deliveries, responsibility not only for oneself but also for associated plants, and a businesslike, purposeful exchange of the first experience already accumulated on the paths of restructuring—this is what is very important today. This can be achieved only by drawing up a package of long-term measures to improve the working people's international education and concertedly resolve questions relating to the socioeconomic, scientific, cultural, and domestic aspects of interethnic relations. Nowadays every party organization and every party committee must have such a program founded on the Leninist principles of internationalism.

What is needed is specific actions, militancy, and purposefulness. Today, when the intensity of demonstrations and rallies has once again increased unjustifiably and when certain public committees are trying to enliven their activity, the party aktiv and all Communists bear increased responsibility. It must be realized that, unlike the earlier demonstrations, more and more unorganized people are now being encountered in the streets. Under these conditions it is impossible to guarantee that any of them will not break out of the democratic framework and willy-nilly provoke antisocial actions and breaches of law and order. It is the duty and obligation of party organizations as the political nucleus of labor collectives to oppose this firmly and resolutely. Restraint, calm, general wisdom and responsibility—this is what we need today.

M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia states: "You and I are all Soviet citizens, we have a common history and common victories, and we have behind us great labor, afflictions, and losses. We are engaged on the great cause of restructuring, on whose success the destinies of socialism, our motherland, and each of us depend."

We will remember this. And resolve all the complex, difficult questions—quite a lot of them really have accumulated among us, and we say so openly and publicly today, during the period of restructuring—from positions of reason, consideration, and mutual trust, as befits a large, harmonious family.

Demirchyan 22 Mar Appeal

PM071521 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 24 Mar 88 pp 1,5

["Speech by K.S. Demirchyan, First Secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on Armenian television 22 March 1988"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades!

The situation created in the republic as a result of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh is essentially back to normal and labor collectives' life has resumed its normal routine.

A decisive role has been played in this by the Appeal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The working people of our republic have responded in a businesslike way to this appeal and have displayed common sense, Soviet internationalism, and unshakable faith in the ideas of the Communist Party and socialism. With great approval and understanding they greeted the statement by our party leader that the complex issues of interethnic relations must be solved calmly, solely within the limits of the democratic process and the law, without allowing the slightest damage to be done to the internationalist cohesion of the Soviet peoples. We must not consign very serious issues concerning the people's destiny to uncontrolled emotion.

Unfortunately, not everyone understands this. They have not thoroughly grasped the entire complexity of the situation and their responsibility for the people's destiny in this difficult time of trial. What is more, you must be well aware that some elements are still organizing meetings and making them the kind of meeting which is incompatible with our national interests and alien to socialist ideas. It is also noticeable that a considerable number of people are unable to show civic maturity and the patience to overcome the situation.

You will be aware from press reports that a conference held at the CPSU Central Committee 9 March discussed this issue in detail.

The crimes committed 28 February in Sumgait City have been very strongly condemned. You already know that law-enforcement organs are still carrying out investigations to establish the ringleaders and participants and punish them with the full force of the law. The results of the investigation will be published in the press.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Armenian Supreme Soviet, and the republic's government are deeply saddened by the deaths of citizens of various nationalities as a result of unprecedented excesses alien to national relations between our peoples. Once again we express our deep condolences to their friends and relatives. Following a decision by the republic's government, the families which have arrived from Sumgait are being given the necessary material and other aid, and the appropriate measures are being taken to meet their requests.

You will also be aware that, following a decision by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat has been instructed to organize a thorough, comprehensive study of the problems which have accumulated in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the reasons for the exacerbation of interethnic relations around it, draw up the relevant proposals, and, as soon as they are ready, submit them for discussion by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee have been instructed to draw up a package of long-term measures to improve the international education of the working people and jointly resolve current problems concerning the socioeconomic, consumer, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of relations between our two republics on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism.

Always taking an internationalist stand, the Armenian people, who are today imbued with the ideas of revolutionary transformations in our society, have been subjected to numerous ordeals on their path through history and have always been able to find the strength within them to look the truth straight in the face and find the right solutions to complex situations.

The present situation requires every one of us to show a great sense of civic responsibility, political foresight, determination, and restraint so as not to create new difficulties around the problem as a result of ill-considered steps and demonstrations.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev urges us to appreciate that none of the problems connected with restructuring can be solved without considering the impact of this process on national relations and that the progress of restructuring requires harmonious, persistent, united work by all working people and the representatives of all of the Soviet Union's nationalities.

At a meeting with foreign journalists in Belgrade 16 March, touching on the events in and around Karabakh, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said: No, no one has raised the question of Soviet power, withdrawal from the Soviet state, or socialism! People acknowledge the role played by the party and the policy it has implemented since Lenin's time in the sphere of national relations.

This is a correct assessment of the peaceful demonstrations held in February.

It must be said that certain unhealthy sentiments had a negative effect on the course of events because not every link in our press and ideological service was equal to the demands of the occasion. The incorrect assessments of events given in some publications, inadequate information, and the absence of a principled appraisal of the situation aroused feelings of dissatisfaction among some people.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee is taking the necessary measures to rectify the situation in line with the demands of democratizing social life.

However, recent events have shown that irresponsible people who do not understand the political situation as a whole are by their unlawful actions casting a shadow on the expression of our people's international will and trying to channel events in an undesirable direction.

Esteemed comrades! The question of national relations is a very complex and, at the same time, a very delicate issue, and so an ill-considered approach to its solution could only be to the detriment of the invaluable achievements of the Soviet peoples—their fraternity and union. Genuinely national ideas are, without doubt, genuinely internationalist ideas. Internationalism does not conflict with national ideas but, on the contrary, is the inspiration for them. This has been proved by our experience of life in the last 70 years.

Every one of us is aware that no one has ever yet been able to make the right decisions in an atmosphere where everyone is nervous, agitated, and emotional. The meeting which some unwise people who have cast aside all restraint are proposing to hold 26 March will lead, without a doubt, to the further agitation of feelings and emotions and is fraught with unpredictable, possibly tragic consequences.

That is why each one of us individually and all of us together must once again make today a day of reason and sober decisions. We must be fully aware of the responsibility of the moment and allow no one to cast a shadow over our talented, industrious people, a people with enormous moral and creative potential, a people reborn who, in the united family of Soviet peoples, have built a new Armenia, a flourishing country, which, to use the graphic description of William Saroyan [American-born writer of Armenian emigre family], is the best argument of Soviet power.

Do we have the right—the political, moral, and human right—to ignore the danger of losing in a moment the unstained reputation of our people which has been built up over many centuries? No, we do not have that right. Future generations would not forgive us for this. History would not forgive us.

It is our civic, patriotic, international duty to do everything possible to end the tension in the republic which has lasted for about a month now.

Appealing to you all again today, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee urges you at this difficult time to show good sense, wisdom, restraint, and political maturity, contain any unhealthy emotions and impulses, suppress any ill-considered actions, and decisively rebuff any actions which incite people to disorders and other unlawful acts.

Appealing to working people in our cities and villages, and to our workers and peasants, we urge them to be invariably equal to their historic mission, show a deep understanding of events, allow no one to upset the normal living and working rhythm, and actively uphold the ideas of internationalism, friendship, and fraternity between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and all Soviet peoples.

Appealing to the mothers of Armenia, teachers, lecturers, and everyone responsible for the education of the younger generation, we urge them to protect their children and our young people against ill-considered actions and not allow them to be drawn into the wild outbursts of unhealthy emotions stirred up by irresponsible, dull-witted people whose actions, as I have already said, may have unpredictable, tragic consequences.

Appealing to our cultural and scientific figures, we urge them to use their impassioned words and their authority to help calm agitated people and persuade them of the needlessness and, what is more, the harm of attempts to solve very complex problems by "meeting methods." Masters of culture, you are all now required to show the wisdom and fearlessness of Tumanyan [Ovanes Tumanyan, Armenian writer and public figure active in the late 19th and early 20th centuries] for the sake of calm and for the sake of strengthening the centuries-old fraternity of our peoples.

Appealing to party organizations and all of the republic's Communists, we urge them to mobilize their forces and consider it their most important duty to most decisively rebuff everyone whose actions are clearly becoming antinational and prevent these people from stirring up the masses. Communists must lead people, focus their efforts on resolving the tasks facing the republic, and struggle to strengthen the internationalist traditions of the Armenian Communist Party.

It is a matter of honor for Communists to take every measure to establish calm and a normal situation in the republic.

Our glorious working class, kolkhoz peasantry, remarkable intelligentsia, and fine young people will allow no one to encroach on the achievements of Soviet power, achievements won on the barricades of the Great October Revolution, in the bitter fighting of the Great Patriotic War, and in socialist and communist building.

Rules Issued on Armenian Rallies

PM081055 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 24 Mar 88 p 5

["Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on Temporary Rules Governing the Holding of Meetings and Other Mass Functions Organized on Citizens' Initiative in Cities and Rayons in the Republic" accompanied by text of said "Temporary Rules"]

[Text] Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on Temporary Rules Governing the Holding of Meetings and Other Mass Functions Organized on Citizens' Initiative in Cities and Rayons in the Republic [subhead]

In order to define the conditions and procedure for implementing Article 48 of the Armenian SSR Constitution, guarantee state and public order, and safeguard citizens' rights and interests during the holding of meetings and other mass functions organized on citizens' initiative in the cities and rayons of the republic, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To ratify the Temporary Rules Governing the Holding of Meetings and Other Mass Functions Organized On Citizens' Initiative in Cities and Rayons in the Republic (appended).

2. That rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms, the Armenian SSR MVD, and the republic's voluntary people's militia headquarters ensure strict observance of these Temporary Rules.

3. That this resolution enter into force from 24 March 1988.

G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

23 March 1988, Yerevan.

Temporary Rules Governing the Holding of Meetings and Other Mass Functions Organized on Citizens' Initiative in Cities and Rayons in the Republic, Ratified by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution of 23 March 1988 [subhead]

General Regulations [subsidiary subhead].

1. The Temporary Rules define the procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, street processions, demonstrations, and other mass functions (hereinafter "functions") organized on citizens' initiative in the cities and rayons of the republic.

2. The functions are to be conducted in conformity with the requirements of the USSR Constitution and the Armenian SSR Constitution, and also Soviet laws designed to safeguard citizens' rights and legal interests and state and public order, and in conformity with the rules of the socialist communal life and moral and ethical norms.

3. The procedure for holding functions, as laid down by these Temporary Rules, also applies to organs of independent public activity with duly approved Statutes. In the absence of the aforementioned Statutes, the holding of such functions cannot be authorized.

4. These Temporary Rules do not apply to functions conducted by state organs and public organizations.

5. The organizers may apply to the ispolkom of the relevant local soviet for consent to the holding of any function organized on citizens' initiative.

Procedure for Granting Authorization [subsidiary subhead].

6. Authorization making available buildings, streets, squares, avenues, parks, gardens, plazas, and other public places to working people and their organizations for holding functions at a specified time is issued by rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (in cities under republic jurisdiction) in written form.

In cities divided into rayons, authorization is issued by the rayispolkom when a function is to be held in the territory of one rayon and by the gorispolkom when a function is to be held in the territory of two or more rayons.

7. Application to hold a function is submitted in written form, indicating the following:

a) the purpose, form, time at which the function will begin and end, and the approximate number of participants;

b) a pledge to observe the provisions of the USSR Constitution and the Armenian SSR Constitution, other legislative acts, and these Temporary Rules when holding the function.

The application to hold the function is to be signed by the people who submit it and also by the person responsible for ensuring order during the preparation for the function and during the function itself, indicating the surname, given name, patronymic, date and place of birth, place of residence and of employment of each of these persons.

When necessary the application is to be accompanied by an estimate of the cost of the function, indicating the sources of finance and the method in which the expenses are to be defrayed.

At the suggestion of the rayispolkom or gorispolkom, the organizers of the function are also to submit other information necessary to ensure the normal course of the said function (information on the organization of traffic, lighting, and so forth).

8. The application shall be submitted to the relevant soviet ispolkom no less than 7 days before the proposed date of the function and shall be examined by the ispolkom, as a rule, within 3 days of its submission.

Applications to hold functions are not accepted from citizens under 18 years of age or from citizens who do not have a permanent residence permit and place of work.

9. The soviet ispolkom shall examine the application and, if an affirmative decision is made, must ensure the conditions necessary for holding the function.

The soviet ispolkom shall decide the place, procedure, route, and time at which the function will begin and end, and also other conditions under which it is to be held.

10. The applicant shall be informed in writing that authorization has been granted and the relevant rayon and city municipal services are to be informed.

The applicant is to be informed in writing in the event of authorization being refused.

11. Authorization to hold the function is effective only for the date and time indicated.

Procedure of Appeal Against a Refusal of Authorization [subsidiary subhead]

12. A refusal to grant authorization must be well founded and should set out the procedure and deadline for an appeal.

13. A refusal may be appealed against within 10 days by applying to a higher executive and regulatory organ whose decision must be reached within 10 days and is final.

Procedure for Holding Functions [subsidiary subhead]

14. The organizer of a function holds it at the time and the place indicated in the authorization and also in accordance with the purposes mentioned in the application and in the stipulated form.

15. In holding a function its organizers and participants are obliged to obey the demands of representatives of authority, internal affairs organs, and people's voluntary militia detachments ensuring observance of state and public order, fire regulations, and traffic regulations, to observe cleanliness, and to treat socialist property with care.

Responsibility for the observance of public order by participants at a function's venue shall rest with its organizers and stewards.

16. A function must be stopped on demand by a representative of authority in the event of a violation of the procedure for holding it laid down in these Temporary Rules, in the event of danger to the life and health of citizens, or in the event of disruption to the normal functioning of transport or other rayon or municipal services.

Reimbursement of Costs [subsidiary subhead]

17. The costs associated with the holding of functions and envisaged in the estimate are, as a rule, borne by their organizers.

Liability for Violation of the Temporary Rules [subsidiary subhead]

18. Proceedings are instituted in accordance with legislation against persons who have violated the procedure for holding functions or the legislation governing the preparation or holding of a function.

19. Compensation for material damage caused to the state or to citizens by the participants of functions in the course of preparing and holding such functions is payable in accordance with the procedure laid down by the law.

N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Azerbaijan Rules on Demonstrations

PM080849 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 25 Mar 88 p 3

[Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Regulations: "On the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations"]

[Text] I. General Regulations [subhead]

1. The USSR Constitution and the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, in accordance with the interests of the people and with a view to strengthening and developing the socialist system, guarantee citizens the freedom to hold meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations. The exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by making public buildings, streets, squares, and other public places available to working people and their organizations.

2. Meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations shall be held with due observance of state and public order, Soviet laws, the rules governing socialist communal life, the norms of morality, and the protection of citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

3. These regulations define the procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations in the streets, squares, avenues, parks, gardens, plazas, and other public places of the Azerbaijan SSR, unless stipulated to the contrary by USSR or Azerbaijan SSR legislation.

II. The Procedure for Organizing Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations [subhead]

4. Application to the local ispolkom for consent to the holding of meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations may be made by authorized representatives of labor collectives of enterprises, institutions, organizations, cooperative organs, other social organizations, social independent activity organs, and individual groups of citizens.

When the aforementioned functions are held in a rayon, city, city rayon, village, or rural population center permission shall be given by the executive committee of the rayon, city, city rayon, village, or rural soviet of people's deputies, and, on the territory of two or more administrative territorial units, by the superior executive and regulating organ.

There shall be no requirement to inform the local ispolkom about the aforementioned functions when held by labor collectives of enterprises, institutions, or organizations, or by social organizations operating within these enterprises, institutions, or organizations, and when these functions are held in their own buildings or other premises, or likewise on the territory of enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

5. A statement relating to the granting of a venue and the setting of a time for holding a meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration shall be supplied in writing and should set out:

The aim, form, venue or processional route, start and finish time for the meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration, and the approximate number of participants;

The surnames, given names, and patronymics of the authorized officials (organizers), their signatures, their places of residence and work, and the date on which the application was submitted.

As and where necessary, figures on the expenditure on the meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration, the sources of the expenditure, and the procedure for repaying it may be affixed to the application.

6. Application shall be made to the executive committee of the appropriate soviet of people's deputies not later than 7 days before the proposed date of the meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration, and shall be examined within 5 days from the date of receipt.

The ispolkom shall ensure the necessary conditions for the meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration.

7. The ispolkom shall prohibit the organization of meetings, rallies, street processions, or demonstrations if they do not correspond to the provisions of the USSR Constitution, the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, or Soviet laws.

A reason must be given for a local ispolkom's refusal to grant an application for a meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration.

An appeal may be lodged with the superior executive and regulating organ up to 5 days after a local ispolkom's refusal to allow a meeting, rally, street procession, or demonstration; a decision will be made within 10 days and shall be final.

III. The Procedure for Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations [subhead]

8. Meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations shall be held at the appointed time and in the place stipulated, and shall match the aims indicated in the application.

The organizers of meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations must be constantly in attendance at them.

9. Meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations may be curtailed on the order of representatives of the local ispolkom or internal affairs organ in the event of the procedure stipulated by these regulations being violated or of there being a threat to citizens' life and limb, or a violation of public order or a disruption of the normal functioning of transportation or other services.

IV. Responsibility for Violating the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations [subhead]

10. Persons who violate the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations in the streets, squares, avenues, parks, gardens, plazas, and other public places of the Azerbaijan SSR shall bear responsibility in accordance with existing legislation.

11. Compensation shall be payable for material damage to the state, cooperative and other public organizations, or citizens caused by participants in meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations.

R. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Azerbaijan on Punishing Violators

PM071313 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 25 Mar 88 p 3

[Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet decree "On Responsibility for the Violation of the Established Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Processions, and Demonstrations"—boldface as published]

[Text] Baku, 24 Mar 1988—The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet **resolves**:

1. To establish that persons guilty of violating the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations in streets, squares, avenues, parks, gardens, plazas, and other public places shall be liable to administrative penalities in the form of a warning or a fine of up to R50.

Instances of violations of administrative law envisaged by this decree shall be examined by the administrative commissions of rayispolkoms, gorispolkoms, city rayispolkoms, and village and rural soviets of people's deputies.

Records of violations envisaged by this decree shall be compiled by the competent officials at internal affairs organs and local ispolkoms, and by people's voluntary militia workers.

2. A repeat offense involving a violation of the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations in streets, squares, avenues, parks, gardens, plazas, and other public places after use has already been made of administrative penalties shall be punishable by corrective labor of up to 1 year or a fine of up to R300.

The same actions, should they violate the normal functioning of enterprises, institutions, or organizations, shall be punishable by up to 2 years' imprisonment or corrective work of 1-2 years.

II. [no Roman I. as published] In accordance with Article 1 of this decree the following addenda shall be included in the Azerbaijan SSR Code on Violations of Administrative Law adopted by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet 13 December 1984 (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA AZERBAYDZHANSKOY SSR: 1984, No 23, Article 198; 1985, No 11, Article 130 and No 21, Article 204; 1986, No 12, Article 72; 1987, Nos 1-2, Article 6, No 12, Article 118, and Nos 15-16, Article 153):

1. The following Article 175-2 shall be added to the Code:

"**Article** 175-2. Violation of the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations.

"Violation of the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations in streets, squares, avenues, parks, gardens, plazas, and other public places:

"shall entail a warning or incur a fine of up to R50."

2. The figure "175-2" shall be added after the figure "175-1" to the first and second sections of Article 208.

3. Paragraph 1, Article 250: After the words "in the commission of petty hooliganism or malicious disobedience of a legitimate instruction or demand issued by a militia or people's voluntary militia worker" add the words "or in the violation of the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations".

III. In accordance with Article 2 of this decree the following Article 188-4 shall be added to the Azerbaijan SSR Criminal Code:

"**Article 188-4.** Violation of the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations.

"A repeat offense involving a violation of the established procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, processions, and demonstrations in streets, squares, avenues, parks, gardens, plazas, and other public places after use has already been made of administrative penalties:

"shall be punishable by corrective labor of up to 1 year or a fine of up to R300.

"The same actions, should they violate the normal functioning of enterprises, institutions, or organizations:

"shall be punishable by up to 2 years' imprisonment or corrective work of 1-2 years."

IV. This decree takes effect from the moment of its publication in the press.

S. Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

R. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Strikes Cost Economy R10 Million

PM071135 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by own special correspondent P. Gutiontov: "The Cost of the Stoppage"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 6 Apr—As I dictate these lines virtually everyone in Stepanakert has reported for work. This seems to be the first full-blown working day since the tempestuous and difficult events began.

I met with leaders of the Stepanakert footwear factory. The recent absenteeism alone has resulted in customers not receiving 450,000 pairs of shoes. That amounts to losses of R1.5 million, which it will be very, very difficult to make up. Moreover, in the first quarter of the year the factory ran up fines of more than R300,000, which are also a heavy burden principally borne by the workers themselves.

What does this actually mean?

In just the first quarter they lost R180-250 in wages and were deprived of potential bonuses worth approximately R100,000. The absenteeism has, among other things, cost roughly 10 apartments (there are 239 people on today's waiting list) and roughly 300 workers will be unable to stay at sanatoriums and recreation homes....

Workers are now saying that, given this, we can work through Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays unpaid and stay behind, again unpaid, at the end of the working day....

I would remark for information's sake that the city's overall debt built up during the absenteeism is over R10 million.

Emigre-Inspired Riga Demonstration Thwarted

PM051325 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Mar 88 p 4

[Own correspondent V. Proskura dispatch: "The 'Spectacle' Did Not Take Place"]

[Text] Riga—On the previous day Latvian television showed a documentary movie—a conversation with Yu. Bumeysters, who was sentenced by the republic's Supreme Court to 15 years imprisonment for espionage and foreign currency speculation. This man, the chief of a sector of the Baltic Fishing Research Institute, gathered information for foreign intelligence centers about defense equipment and military airfields.... At the same time he duplicated and circulated anti-Soviet pamphlets

delivered from abroad by a contact. The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium recently pardoned the convicted man, who had not even served half his sentence, in view of his penitence and his advanced age.

The confession of the former spy and trafficker once again reminded us about vigilance and about the need for spiritual and moral orderliness and self-discipline. After all, even an expert in the theory of fishing had by degrees risen to the bait of overseas subversives by chance, or, as he put it, through "thoughtlessly playing at politics."

Originally "foreign tourist" emissaries from the so-called "foreign committee of the Latvian Social Democratic party" informed Bumeysters that as an "intellectual dissident" he had been admitted in absentia into this minuscule emigre organization. The fishery institute staffer was flattered by the attention being paid to him.

There was more to come. In return for a miserly handout Bumeysters became a traitor to his motherland and inveigled a certain Lisman, his junior at the research institute, into the "underground." Now that he has seen the light, as he claims, Bumeysters talks with loathing of his overseas employers: "They all have instructions from foreign intelligence services. Once you have embarked on this path they won't let you go. Believe me, it's filthy work."

True enough. And we believe him, of course.... I will cite just one of the main points of the "Class Solidarity Program" drawn up by this pathetic bunch of bourgeois chauvinist turncoats, who have run away from their own people: All the Russians who came to Latvia after its liberation from the fascists must leave the republic....

Yes, a television program was shown the day previously. But the next day—the end of the working week—turned out to be overshadowed for the Rigans not solely by the cloudy, rainy weather. People had been talking about this day before. Since the beginning of March "Voice of America" and "Radio Free Europe" had been broadcasting appeals in Latvian calling for nationalist demonstrations. They had given publicity in ingratiating tones to anti-Soviets' intentions to turn the evening of 25 March into the latest noisy rally by the Freedom monument in the center of Riga.

What was so unexpectedly noteworthy about this apparently ordinary Friday [predvykhodnoy den]? Thirty-nine years ago, at the end of March 1949 the government of Soviet Latvia was forced to move anti-Soviet elements, primarily from among the rural bourgeoisie—the "gray barons"—temporarily into the country's eastern regions. It was above all the kulaks who sustained, in the literal and in the figurative sense of the word, the gangs of "forest brothers" who had subjected the republic's population to brutal terror, especially those who set about the socialist restructuring of the Latvian countryside—collectivization. Workers who came to the assistance of the poor peasantry also fell foul of sneakily fired bullets. The monstrous deeds, violence, and mass killings of peaceful workers committed at that time by the bandits—recent accomplices of the Hitlerites—incited by their new masters across the ocean, defy description.

Something else is also well known: The violations of revolutionary legality committed in the course of uncompromising skirmishes with the class enemy also made their dramatic mark on these years. The excesses led to repressions not only against overt enemies but also against random people who were not involved.

The republic's creative unions proposed laying flowers on that day at the historic "Fraternal cemetery," where the Lettish Riflemen and other patriots are buried, and honoring the "memory of the innocent" with a minute's silence. The Riga Gorispolkom met this proposal halfway....

But at 1830 hours the so-called "Helsinki-86" group—the "new wave," as the handful of its present members calls it—announced their "event" at the Freedom monument. (The "old" group under that name had disintegrated. Some people left and went abroad and are now are going into hysterics over the Baltic airwaves).

But the planned theatrical performance—the "funeral procession" with wreaths and candles at the intersection of crowded routes, and, this is the main thing, with provocative speeches based on cribs sent from abroad—did not come about. Worker's Riga once again demonstrated its political maturity, worthy of the memory of the red riflemen. The provocative rally—doubly loathsome owing to the noisy demagogues' hypocritical speculation upon human sorrow—was nipped in the bud right at the outset. People's voluntary militia patrols and representatives of the public vigorously supported law enforcement personnel.

The entire responsibility for the shameful propaganda "spectacle" and for the bad feeling of the people of Riga rests with those who tried, at someone else's prompting, to kindle passions and inspire riots. This is the unequivocal opinion of the Latvian capital's working people.

Popov Attacks 'Antirestructuring' Forces
PM071526 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 7 Apr 88 p 6

[Gavriil Popov article under the rubric "More Democracy—More Socialism": "There Is No Way Back"—boldface as published]

[Text] Under the party's leadership, we are progressing confidently along the path of developing democracy and glasnost and overcoming command and administrative methods of leadership and management. At the same time we hear the voices of people who are worried about these processes. Many things alarm them: Are we not shaking the foundations of our system, are we not in the

grip of petty bourgeois forces, is not our sacred faith in ideals being eroded, are we not belittling the services of those who built socialism in the years when the country was led by Stalin? There are also frank appeals for an end to criticism of the leader [vozhd] as an individual.

As the PRAVDA editorial article notes, these sentiments were echoed in the item "I Cannot Waive Principles," published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 13 March. [The above-mentioned PRAVDA editorial was published under the headline "Restructuring's First Three Years Lauded" in the 5 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 37-43. The 13 March SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article was published under the headline "Stalin Defended, 'Cosmopolitan' Liberals Lashed" in the 16 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 48-53.]

Of course, it would be tempting to find some kind of elementary explanation for the emergence of such materials. For instance, to suggest that it is all a matter of deepening glasnost: Similar letters used to arrive at the editorial offices before, but we did not publish them, and so forth.

It is also possible to suspect various authors of not being entirely "spontaneous" or "natural" in their outbursts. Sometimes even the authorship itself can be called into question.... It is possible to find in the materials produced by any given author specific subjects for polemics, errors, distortions....

All the same, we must look more attentively at this whole current as a social phenomenon of the present stage of restructuring.

"Daddy! Who built this railroad?"

"Count Petr Andreich Kleynmikhel, darling!"—N. Nekrasov, "The Railroad."

The question of the evaluation of I.V. Stalin is at the center of this current of conservatism.

The range of arguments in support and justification of the cult does not change. There are the same old appeals "not to blacken" him, to "see the good things too," to "see what is most important," to "value the successes," "not to exaggerate the scale of the repressions," to "assess the personal merits of the Supreme Commander," and so forth.

The desire to "whitewash" and take an uncritical view of the past inevitably leads to the repetition of the ideological errors of the past.

Thus "counterrevolutionary nations" are hinted at, by analogy with K. Marx' and F. Engels' evaluation. What can the thesis on "counterrevolutionary nations" offer us today, except suspicion and distrust and the undermining of the united front of restructuring? And most importantly: Why, under socialism, should a given nation become reactionary? Is it by virtue of certain realities of socialism itself, which has placed that nation in those conditions? But in that case, what has the nation itself to do with it? Or does a people become reactionary under socialism by virtue of the "harmful" nature of the nation? But in that case it is pure racism, and once again the nation itself can do nothing about it. That is what happens when you try to pin words that applied to the nations of feudalism and capitalism, nations where the dominant exploiting classes set the tone, onto the age of socialism. Where is the class approach here?

Or else passages appear on the descendants, who still flourish today (and not only on the other side of the border), of the classes overthrown by the revolution, the basmaks, NEP speculators, and kulaks. One wonders: How can the Marxist theory of class struggle and Leninist teaching on classes as groups in social production be reconciled with this theory of class genes passed on from generation to generation, in the face of which all social mechanisms are powerless? This is a kind of biology, though not a scientific kind. If the class kernel persists outside history, there is much food for thought here.

As far as the interests of restructuring are concerned, what does the thesis of "descendants" offer us? What will become of the son of a man who joins a cooperative? What lies in store for the grandchildren of a director who organizes an enterprise jointly with a capitalist firm? Will some people eventually start reminding workers who have gone over to the contract system of their tendency to capitalist mercantilism?

An assessment of I.V. Stalin is given in M.S. Gorbachev's report. Everyone seems to agree with that assessment. At the same time W. Churchill's "opinion" has come into circulation, an opinion which, it turns out, was not Churchill's at all, but that of the English Trotskiyist Isaac Deutscher. But even if one of our enemies did say such things, we should be very careful about an enemy's praise. How could anyone think that a sophisticated political adversary had suddenly started telling the truth for its own sake? Once again, the class approach is somewhat lacking.

One of the most widespread themes has been the call not to forget the successes of the past. And we can indeed be proud of them. Socialism made it possible in a short space of time to eliminate illiteracy in the country, accomplish a cultural revolution, create a mighty industry, build new cities.... But as V.I. Lenin once noted, war communism is an **achievement** of ours, but we must know the **measure** of that achievement. It is even more incorrect to attribute the achievements of the people and party to one individual.

At school I, like everyone else, learned what was then called the "History of the USSR." They only told us about successes. But I also studied the great Russian literature, that outstanding political textbook.

What did N.A. Nekrasov write about that Russian technical achievement, the railroad from St Petersburg to Moscow? He did not deny the fact that Count Kleynmikhel was responsible to the czar for the railroad. But N.A. Nekrasov does not mention whether the count was an industrious official or an idler. Nor does he tell us that the count called Nicholas I's illegitimate children his own. N.A. Nekrasov was not at all interested in the count. He sought the **real** builder of the railroad. And to the general's **formally** correct answer about the builder of the railroad, Nekrasov added: "...narrow embankments, posts, rails, bridges. And along the sides, Russian bones..."

Nekrasov did not by any means ignore the count—the chief of construction, or the merchant, or the foremen who could read and write and who robbed the construction workers, or the bosses who flogged the workers and were convinced that without these floggings there would be no railroad. But he taught us to see the most important thing behind all this: **Who built it and what did it cost?** "...The people's masses. Many, in the terrible struggle to bring life to these barren wastes, found graves here for themselves." He taught: "Bless the people's work, and learn to respect the peasant." And after that **lesson in sober analysis of successes** handed down to us by our great literature, can we uphold the view of daddy the general?

"How many they are! Where are they being driven to?

"Why do they sing so plaintively?"—A. Pushkin, "The Devils."

What I am interested in is not the attempts to resurrect the personality cult in themselves, but the questions: who needs this **today**, and why?

One wonders: Why has a tendency to "defend the leader" appeared today? Without Stalin and his methods, the system he created rapidly took on a life of its own, reached an impasse, and brought the country to the brink of crisis. Restructuring—the only way out of the situation—proved to be beyond the powers of certain leaders. Although everyone was given the chance to restructure, some did not want to, and many were simply unable.

They are the ones who do not know how to lead the economic reform out of the bureaucratic swamp of economic departments that engulfs it. They are the ones best characterized by what was described at the February plenum as "the adherence of many party committees and their apparatus to command methods," as attempts to "confine glasnost and democracy within convenient limits, to take the press in hand," in a word, to have "everything 'under their thumb' and be the supreme authority on everything." These are the cadres, for instance, who do not know how to tackle increasingly acute national problems and young people's problems. In a word, these leaders lack the skill and the ability to turn the party's correct line of restructuring into a series of concrete actions.

These cadres do not know what to do! But in no circumstances do they want to leave their posts. And they seek to pass off their own personal impasse as universal, they fan fears and sow panic, just as at one time the cadres who grew up in the conditions of "war communism" represented the NEP as the collapse of the revolution. And in order to justify their reluctance to depart, they find motives. Concern for the salvation of our ideals, a willingness for the sake of these ideals to cut restructuring down to an ordinary apparatus reform or to sacrifice restructuring altogether for the sake of preserving the "purity" of ideals—that is one of these motives.

It is not those former leaders who are afraid that "repentance" will be required of them, it is precisely this category of leaders who are perplexed by the ever increasing complexity of restructuring and are reluctant to give up their right to lead, who are behind the attempts to resurrect the cult.

That is why they must revise their approach to I.V. Stalin. They are not worried about "restoring" historical justice, but about finding an alternative to true restructuring, drawing on the experience of the past.

But whereas some authors shamefacedly or self-consciously keep quiet about this, others take everything to its logical conclusion. For them, it is no longer a question of ideals or of restoring the "truth," it is a question of the future.

Let us see: Could a solution really be found in the restoration of a system of the personality cult type?

"Why do we need a road, if it does not lead to the Temple?"—from the movie "Repentance."

The question arises of the relationship between this tough command system and the administrative system of the braking mechanism type.

The personality cult is only the initial form of the administrative system. It essentially regards people as faceless cogs who do nothing to prevent all the power from being in the hands of administrators. And the braking mechanism is not a chance phenomenon or the result of a cunning trick by someone or of someone's ill will. The braking mechanism is the most logical outcome of the development of the Stalinist system itself.

Theoretically, by following the path of the 20th congress, we could have bypassed the stage of the braking mechanism. But that was the least likely option. What was most natural was for the command system to turn into the administrative braking system.

A number of authors seek to counterpose these systems.

They say, for instance, that in the era of the personality cult there were moral foundations, there was "personal modesty to the point of asceticism," while potential Soviet millionaires were afraid to burst forth. Clearly the authors are unwilling to grasp the simple fact that the "foundations" could not be moral if they were based on hypocrisy, divergence between words and deeds, mutual suspicion, fear, and mass arrests of totally innocent people—and usually honest people. The "foundations" could not be moral if they were based on deference to rank and the deification of one man.

They speak truly about the enthusiasm of the masses in the thirties, but will not see that it was the mass repressions that were the main force that caused the masses to unlearn enthusiasm and initiative. It was Stalinist times that saw not only the birth of the Stakhanovite movement, but also its degeneration into the organization of records to order and reports of the number of record-breakers.

And then the command and administrative system no longer needs the enthusiasm generated by the revolution. The principles of the "work force" are more in keeping with its nature. And, controlling public wealth in the name of the people, it tries to perpetuate itself.

This system no longer needs to compromise with the intelligentsia and other "specialists" who sought compromise because they dreamed of uniting science, art, literature, education, and health care with concern for the people. The essence of the administrative system requires not creativity, but obedience, not initiative, but the fulfillment of instructions from above, not actions in themselves, but reports of innovations introduced, dissertations defended, beds in hospitals, crimes detected, and so forth. The administrative system of the personality cult became a braking mechanism when it had cleansed its apparatus entirely of leaders who "suffered" from the revolutionary activeness that is alien to its nature, by turning some of them into administrators and removing others: those who would not, could not, or simply did not manage quickly enough to adapt themselves to suit those yardsticks.

The administrative system, by preserving itself and taking on a life of its own, became the braking mechanism. There was no other option. Either it should have been dismantled in the fifties as a result of the eradication of the conditions that made it inevitable in the twenties, or it could only become the braking mechanism.

The most complete assessment of I.V. Stalin would include, for me, not only the repressions and crimes that were monstrous in themselves, but specifically the emergence of the command system of the braking mechanism type which sprang from the administrative system of the personality cult type. I.V. Stalin basically did everything to render that line of development inevitable. And that is his main historical guilt.

That is why any attempts to revive this version of the administrative system with a master would most likely, most logically, most naturally culminate once again in the emergence of a braking mechanism in even uglier forms.

The question arises: Why have the opponents of restructuring become so aggressive? Praising Stalin is no longer enough for them. They make shameless assessments of the restructuring itself and level accusations of deviations from socialism.

The first reason: Hopes that restructuring would die a natural death were not borne out. On the contrary, it entered the zone of those changes that take place first and foremost in ideology and thinking, after which the process is irreversible. It also began to exert perceptible economic pressure on everyone who preferred to take no notice of it.

The second reason: The approach of the culminating moment of restructuring, when it will be necessary to choose between its interests and the interests of those people in the apparatus who are not coping with the tasks of the restructuring. Restructuring is reaching the stage that the physicists call "critical mass," beyond which an explosion will take place, sweeping away the entire apparatus created by the braking mechanism.

The third reason: the atmosphere of glasnost. The opponents of restructuring, like true sons of their time, were accustomed to applaud promptly, approve unanimously, and wait for instructions. Even when the apparatus itself had begun to decide questions, it always looked like the will of the very top. And if cadres of that stamp have begun to grumble and, growing bold, to go directly into the attack against restructuring without choosing their words and without respect for personalities, then the influence of glasnost is at work here.

Of course, it is a bonus that yet another stratum of society is ridding itself of its cog complex and will never again appear in its former form of "aktiv" of the braking mechanism. But at the same time the writer Vasil Bykov was absolutely right when he wrote in an article published in IZVESTIYA about the increasingly frequent interventions by opponents of restructuring: "I think what is behind all this is our insane tolerance of the consequences of that same cult and its atmosphere of repressions." Of course, we must not use the methods of those whom we are struggling against—or else we will sink not only to the level of their methods, but to their moral level in general. We must not devalue the ideals of our struggle in this way.

Nor can we ignore the laws of the struggle, its logic, its rules. Tolerance of sorties by the opponents of restructuring troubles its supporters and intimidates the wavering. And—most important—lessens the effectiveness of restructuring and provides a pretext for beginning to attribute to it all the defects generated by the previous era, be they underground millionaires or blackshirts [Pamyat supporters].

However, in the conditions of the increasing democratization of our life there is only one sure path in the struggle against the braking mechanism and its representatives—that of stepping up the ideological struggle against them and debunking and discrediting their positions in the eyes of the masses in a well argued, convincing, and consistent manner.

Here the main thing is to unite the maximum possible number of like-minded people, supporters of restructuring.

In this respect the preparations for and holding of the 19th all-union party conference are called upon to play an enormous role. It is the conference delegates who can wage the "last, decisive" battle against attempts to retard the course of restructuring.

"...Remove the rust of bureaucracy from the values and ideals of socialism, cleanse them of everything inhuman..."—M.S. Gorbachev, "Revolutionary Restructuring Requires the Ideology of Renewal."

Concern for "our ideals" is used as cover for the resurrection of Stalinism.

What ideals? Those from which we must remove the rust of bureaucracy, which must be cleansed of everything inhuman? No, the resurrectors are not proposing any such purge of the ideals of the personality cult period. In fact, they want a different purge—of everything restructuring offers.

I would like to remind "Marxists" of that kind that ideals and social practice are inseparable. There cannot be an era of "pure ideals" and "bad practice." But the era of the command system not only hid behind "pure ideals." It developed a whole arsenal of ideals of its own. Some of them are distorted, bureaucratized pseudosocialist ideals. Others are entirely created by that era. It is these ideals of the past that certain authors simply refuse to remember. They were expressed clearly by G. Turetskiy—author of a letter to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA: It is better to sacrifice several millions again, in order to preserve the moral purity of all the others.

I have always been struck by this willingness to sacrifice other people's lives to preserve one's own ideals. But even if we get away from the direct, self-seeking willingness to "fight for my victory to the last other man," even in its pure form the ideal of "sacrifices" is profoundly inhuman. Every person's life is unique and cannot be reproduced, and no one, except that person himself, should have the right to dispose of it—even for the purest ideals, to say nothing of dogmas or ambitions.

Quite recently Mao Zedong expressed readiness to accept the deaths of hundreds of millions of people in a nuclear war for the sake of the emergence of the most just system. But in Dostoyevskiy's "The Possessed" Petrusha Verkhovenskiy said: "'100 million heads'—maybe that is only a metaphor, but why be afraid, if in its slow, paper reveries despotism swallows up, in 100 years or so, not 100 million, but 500 million heads? And remember, someone who is incurably ill will not recover, whatever prescriptions you make for him on paper, but on the contrary, if you delay, he will decay to such an extent that he will infect us too and ruin all the fresh forces that at the moment can still be counted on...." The logic, as you can see, is the same. But if Fedor Dostoyevskiy's prophetic cry was unconvincing in the last century, 100 years later we should be more intelligent. We already know that there can be means which cause the ends themselves to lose their meaning. And today we should give more thought to the words of another Dostoyevskiy hero—Ivan Karamazov: "Imagine that you were erecting the edifice of human destiny with the aim ultimately of making people happy and giving them peace and tranquillity at last, but in order to achieve this it was necessary and inevitable to kill just one tiny little creature.... Would you agree to be the architect on those terms, tell me the truth!.. And can you suppose that the people you are building for would themselves agree to take their happiness at the cost of the unjustified blood of that little tormented creature, and if they accepted it, would remain happy forever?"

All of them—the conservative Possessed, who seek to save their own positions, or the avant-garde Possessed, who hope to make the people happy fast—are characterized by this: the desire to impose their own ideas on people.

The party, heading the restructuring, from the very first days of this difficult, long-term work, has spoken the language of truth and realism to the people. After all, why is any tendency to political daydreaming dangerous to us today? Because if people cannot see an abundance of good things, if they can see the usual dominance of bureaucracy, if they themselves still lack sufficient opportunity to become actively involved in the course of restructuring, then some of these people could become a breeding ground for the resurrection of the ideals of the command system.

The opponents of restructuring are dangerous only if they manage to incite at least a proportion of the working people against restructuring. That will enable them to defeat the supporters of restructuring and grasp the levers of power. And then bring these same working people "to their senses." That is why the dispute about the ideals of the past is a dispute about the future.

That is why it is so important, PRAVDA's principled party assessment of the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA item, an item which "can only be called the ideological platform, the manifesto of antirestructuring forces."

I personally am convinced that the antirestructuring boat has already been missed.

The ideals of socialism, in their Leninist interpretation, can only be upheld in life in one way—by resolutely developing restructuring, debunking opposition to restructuring, and developing, as was said at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, the ideology of renewal. With the emphasis on renewal.

Comparison of Arbatov on April 1985 Plenum

Moscow World Service in English at 0310 GMT on 7 April carries an item on Georgiy Arbatov commenting on the importance of the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum. The Moscow World Service item has been compared to the Moscow English version published in the 7 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 34-35, revealing the following variations:

Page 34, column two, paragraph two, only sentence, line one, the Moscow World Service version reads: ...overcome many barriers impeding the onward movement... (changing participle)

Column two, paragraph four, sentence two, line three, the Moscow World Service version reads ...than our foreign policy initiatives. There were times when capitalism rejected the very idea of peaceful coexistence with socialism, with the Soviet Union. It accepted coexistence only at a time when and in as much as it was compelled to do so for objective historical reasons. And still every time the West picked up the hope that it was still feasible to reverse the process of socialist development or that history could be rewritten it changed its attitude to socialism. In this respect, the stagnation phenomena and difficulties in this country's economic, social, political, and intellectual life give rise on the part of some ruling sections in the United States to illusory hopes that socialism has entered an era of depression and that it should only be pushed slightly to cease to exist once and for all. It is to... (providing variant, additional passage, and clarifying queried words)

Page 35, column one, paragraph two, last sentence, the Moscow World Service version reads ...threat to others. So the current restructuring, openness, new political thinking, and the foreign political initiatives that have begun to be implemented, all this can hardly ever be overestimated.

[Announcer] In the course of our discussion, Dr Georgiy Arbatov made an important conclusion.

[Arbatov] The entire system of international relations following the Second World War, including its component part, designed by the West, was based on the attempts to present the Soviet Union as a universal enemy. Today we are depriving the opponents of socialism of the opportunities to conduct further work in that direction. The world has... (supplying additional material)

Column one, last paragraph, last sentence, the Moscow World Service version reads ...have taken place. The proponents of the cold war will be in no position to deceive people in their countries as easily as they used to. I'd also say nor will they be able to abuse any longer our mysterious silence with regard to some issues or our clumsiness or inarticulateness with regard to others. I mean our policy and our intentions on the one hand and the policy and intentions of the West on the other, which we often presented so unconvincingly at our attempts in the propaganda area, only gave rise to Western speculations.... (supplying additional material)

Poltava Obkom Plenum Elects Myakota Chief

AU071228 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Apr 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Poltava Obkom Plenum"]

[Excerpt] On 2 April a Poltava Obkom plenum examined an organizational issue. In connection with the appointment of F.T. Morgun as chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, he was relieved of the duties of obkom first secretary and obkom bureau member. A.S. Myakota, hitherto Poltava Oblispolkom chairman, was elected obkom first secretary.

The plenum was addressed by A.A. Titarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary. [passage omitted]

Abolentsev Appointed RSFSR Justice Minister

PM071339 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Apr 88 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Appointment of Comrade V.A. Abolentsev as RSFSR Minister of Justice"]

[Text] Moscow, 5 April, 1988—The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to appoint Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Abolentsev RSFSR minister of justice.

V. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow Dissident Linked to U.S.-Funded Center

PM251241 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Mar 88 Single Edition p 5

[Unattributed article: "Call for Information—It's Paid For. Danish Newspaper on Activities of Center for Democracy in New York"—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] In spring 1987 our country's supreme legislative organ pardoned a group of people serving sentences passed by the people's courts for antistate activities. Sergey Grigoryants was among those released. The basis for his pardon was an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium promising that he would henceforth abandon any illegal activity.

However, soon after his return to Moscow there appeared a bulletin entitled GLASNOST, which has been trumpeted abroad as an "independent Soviet newspaper" and an "alternative source of news for the Western press."

The role of GLASNOST and its "editor" was described by the Danish newspaper INFORMATION in an article entitled "Soviet Critics of the System Should Spy for the United States." We publish the article in an abridged form.

In the last few months the independent Soviet newspaper GLASNOST has become an important alternative news source for the Western press. It is distributed by a New York organization called the Center for Democracy, run by Soviet emigres. At the end of 1987 the center received $15,000 from the National Endowment for Democracy for translating GLASNOST into English and distributing it in the West.

The links between this center and GLASNOST are worrying because in 1985 the center received via the National Endowment for Democracy U.S. state funds for a program bearing a closer resemblance to intelligence gathering than to work on behalf of the observance of human rights.

With its $200,000 in fiscal 1986 the center was the largest recipient of funds from the National Endowment for Democracy among the organizations dealing with the USSR. In 1987 it received another $125,000. Moreover, one should also take into account the $50,000 which were allocated by the National Endowment for Democracy to finance preliminary research leading to the creation of the center in 1985.

The success of the National Endowment for Democracy's center is largely explained by one of its founder-figures—Vladimir Bukovskiy, who came to the West in 1976.

Currently Bukovskiy is a leading member of the "Prodemka" [name as published] organization, which lobbies in favor of the Nicaraguan contras and is also financially supported by the National Endowment for Democracy. Furthermore, he participated in the creation of the anticommunist "Resistance International" group which, in particular, supports the Afghan Mujahidin.

Bukovskiy found a supporter in the shape of Carl Gershman—director of the National Endowment for Democracy and a former adviser to Jeane Kirkpatrick, official U.S. representative at the United Nations—who, like Bukovskiy, is a member of a neoconservative organization named the Committee for the Free World.

Under Gershman, the National Endowment for Democracy, set up by Congress in 1983 as a bipartisan organ to encourage U.S.-style democracy in the Soviet bloc and "authoritarian" countries, has been used to implement the Reagan administration's foreign policy schemes. In 1985, for instance, it was revealed that the National Endowment for Democracy had taken part in financing right-wing groups of French students and workers who were fiercely protesting against President Mitterrand's rule.

Bukovskiy is convinced that Gorbachev's reforms increase the Soviet threat to the West. Last March he warned that Russia is now "much more dangerous," since "the Soviet Union (now) can destroy the West both morally and physically." According to Bukovskiy, "the West must step up the pressure. I think that the pressure should now be kept up on them rather than relaxed."

Most members of the center's board clearly share Bukovskiy's views. Among them are "hawks" in the military sphere such as Michael Ledin [surname as published], Edward Luttwak, and Albert Volstetter [surname as published], along with the Sovietologists Robert Conquest, Milorad Drakovic, and John Dunlop from Stanford University's Hoover Institute. Some of the center's other advisers include the Polish emigre philosopher Leszek Kolakowski, the emigre writer Vasiliy Aksenov, and two presidential hopefuls from the Republican Party—Jack Kemp and Robert Dole.

Yuriy Yarym-Agayev, a Soviet emigre computer specialist, is director of the center. In March 1984 he and Bukovskiy were working at Stanford University on a plan for the Center for Democracy.

"The Soviet human rights movement," Yarym-Agayev has written, "has created an extensive domestic intelligence-gathering network and channels through which information can be sent abroad." At the same time "because of the special nature of the human rights movement... it was not focused on collecting military, technological, and strategic information and cannot be so."

This is what Yarym-Agayev is now proposing to put right. "If this information network gets the necessary support it could collect information" about subjects such as "the black market, the government, laws, instructions, regulations, secret directives, the militia, and the KGB." Other aspects which could be studied include, in particular, "the armed forces and society: social and political aspects of the war in Afghanistan, the social and political situation among Soviet troops stationed abroad, the militarization of civilian life, proof of the existence of special privileges, military interference in the economy, politics, and society, instances of corruption and tension between different ethnic groups, and relations between the CPSU and the KGB."

Yarym-Agayev pointed out that the key to the center's success could be the creation of a "network to gather new information on the Soviet Union." This work should be carried out by "people coming from the West," who should "reliably take out information" using the "necessary technical methods."

In the summer of 1984, 2 months after Gershman became director of the National Endowment for Democracy, Yarym-Agayev obtained $50,000 for "preliminary research." The document he prepared names the three most important tasks as:

1. Establishing a number of sources in the Soviet Union with the help of dissidents and recent Russian emigres.

2. Gathering information on all tourist trips to the USSR from Western Europe and Third World countries.

3. Looking for people in Europe who could find, instruct and later debrief the tourists.

The delight of the National Endowment for Democracy, which was expressed in the allocation to the center of $200,000 in 1986, was understandable, since the information collected through this network could, according to Yarym-Agayev, "be used by government bodies and other state organizations."

By means of a contract project called the "Independent Exchange Program" the center organized and financed in fiscal 1986 more than 20 trips to the USSR by "experienced" travelers who met with approximately 100 dissidents, including independent peace activists and refuseniks. The center also initiated contacts with Western tourists. From January through March 1987 instructions were given to 10 travelers as a minimum.

At $53,000 the Independent Exchange Program was the center's most extensive program. Another fund, designed to provide financial assistance to selected dissidents, obtained $37,000. The remaining appropriations were used to develop a "data bank" for the storage both of legitimate information on the human rights situation and dubious "research results" from the Soviet Union.

In 1987 the center received another $125,000. Nonetheless, Director Yarym-Agayev decided to close down the Independent Exchange Program, since the new glasnost policy had made it redundant.

At the same time the economic aid program and the data bank have been flourishing. A report by the center states that "a card index continues to be built on various subjects relating to the Soviet Union (for example, the Soviet economy, politics, armed forces, and so forth), and on Eastern Europe and certain Third World countries (Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua, for instance) with which the USSR maintains close contacts."

The National Endowment for Democracy is clearly predisposed to finance even some of the center's very unusual plans.

In 1986 the National Endowment for Democracy allocated an additional $25,000 to finance Bukovskiy's plan to smuggle anti-Soviet U.S. movies ("White Nights," "Red Dawn," and "The Murder of Trotskiy") into the USSR with the help of a Polish group named "Fighting Solidarity."

According to National Endowment for Democracy reports, the center is planning to bring out political documentary films and videos with the participation of Soviet emigres, to be smuggled into the USSR using the same system of couriers.

In December 1986 Carl Gershman and John Richardson, then chairman of the National Endowment for Democracy board, convened a meeting of "experts on the USSR" to "evaluate the programs financed by the National Endowment for Democracy aimed at reviving democratic tendencies in Eastern Europe and the USSR."

According to a statement by press spokeswoman Diane Betzh [surname as published], the National Endowment for Democracy continues to support the center.